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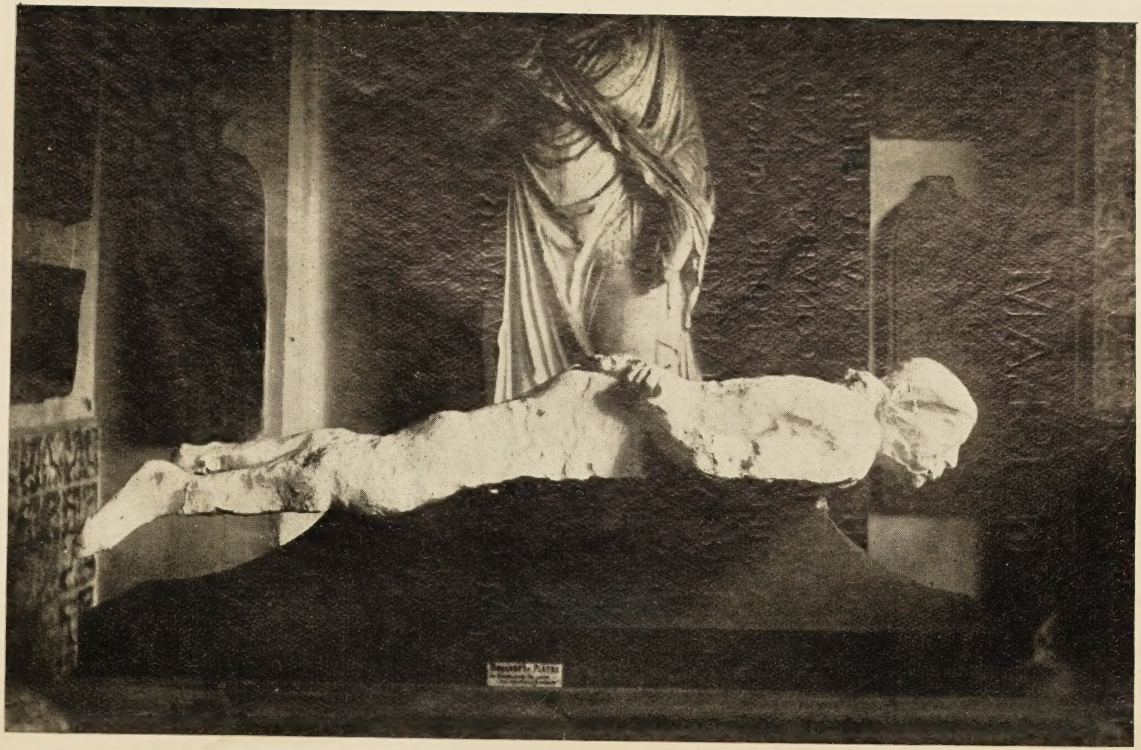
THE LAW OF APOSTASY IN ISLAM



PLASTER CAST OF GERONIMO

As it is found in the Museum at Algiers. (See page 89).

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THE LAW OF APOSTASY IN ISLAM

ANSWERING THE QUESTION WHY THERE ARE SO FEW MOSLEM CONVERTS, AND GIVING EXAMPLES OF THEIR MORAL COURAGE AND MARTYRDOM

BY

SAMUEL M. ZWEMER

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" The question of apostasy has furnished detractors of Islam a fruitful source of alleging all kinds of barbarities against the Faith of Muhammad (peace and blessings be upon his holy soul !), and never was an allegation more ill-founded than this. The habit which makes itself responsible for laying such and other baseless and highly unjust charges at the door of Islam is the psychological result of a mental activity in which the chief elements are those of an inherent prejudice against Islam combined with ignorance. It is the ignorance of the true and genuine Islam which manifests itself so frequently in the Press and on the platform of Christian missionary propaganda in so many ways in which its tenets are depicted in the blackest of colours."

" Islamic Review," November 1916.

PREFACE.

THE story is told that Damocles, at the court of Dionysius of Sicily, pronounced the latter the happiest man on earth. When, however, Damocles was permitted to sit on the royal throne, he perceived a sword hanging by a horse-hair over his head. The imagined felicity vanished, and he begged Dionysius to remove him from his seat of peril. To-day we read of new mandatories, of liberty, and of promised equality to minorities under Moslem rule; and newspapers assert that a new era has come to the Near East. Economic development, intellectual awakening, reforms, constitutions, parliaments and promises! Does the sword of Damocles, however, still hang over the head of each convert from Islam to Christianity? Is the new Islam more tolerant than the old? Will the lives and property of converts be protected, and the rights of minorities be respected? This little book is an attempt to answer one aspect of these large questions, which are all of vital importance to the work of Christian Missions.

Again and again has European pressure, aided by a few educated Orientals, endeavoured to secure equality before the law for all religions and races in the Near East. But as often as the attempt was made it proved a failure, each new failure more ghastly than the last. The reason is that the conscience and the faith of the most sincere and upright Moslems are bound up with the Koran and the Traditions. Civilization cannot eradicate deep-seated convictions. Rifles and ironclads, the café, the theatre, written constitutions, representative parliaments; none of these reach far below the surface. A truer freedom, a deeper religious experience, a higher life than the one supplied by their own faith, must come before Moslems can enter into the larger liberty which we enjoy.

Dr. Snouck Hurgronje, who cannot be suspected either of ignorance or of prejudice in what he writes on this subject, says: "The whole set of laws which, according to Islam,

should regulate the relations between believers and unbelievers, is the most consequent elaboration imaginable of a mixture of religion and of politics in their mediæval form. That he who possesses material power should also dominate the mind is accepted as a matter of course; the possibility that adherents of different religions could live together as citizens of the same state and with equal rights is excluded. Such was the situation in the Middle Ages not only with Mohammedans: before and even long after the Reformation our ancestors did not think very differently on the matter. The difference is chiefly this, that Islam has fixed all these mediæval regulations in the form of eternal laws, so that later generations, even if their views have changed, find it hard to emancipate themselves from them."[1]

Among the laws that regulate the relation between the Moslem community and those who wish to leave it and join some other faith, is the law of apostasy. To show what this law is; how it works in the community and towards the individual; what effect it has had on the relations of Islam to Christianity; and how it is necessary to abrogate this law, or modify it, that there may be liberty of conscience and freedom to confess Christ—such is the purpose of this little book.

In its preparation we have consulted the Arabic sources, and other literature given in the bibliography. We are also indebted to correspondence received from missionary workers in many lands from Java and Western China, to Morocco and Nigeria. Their united testimony is the more important, because it covers so large an area, and comes from unimpeachable witnesses.

Recent Moslem writers, especially those of the Woking school, have attempted to show that Islam always was and is now a religion of tolerance. They have emphasized the one Koran text that seems to inculcate such a doctrine. "Surely those who believe, and those who are Jews, and the Sabaeans, and the Christians—whosoever believes in Allah and the Last Day, and does good—they shall have no fear,

[1] *The Holy War*, by Dr. C. Snouck Hurgronje (Putman, New York, 1915), pp. 10, 11.

neither shall they grieve" (v: 69). This text, however, has not proved a Magna Charta of liberty for minorities in any Moslem land, not in Arabia during the seventh century, not even in Egypt or India during the twentieth century. Khwajah Kemal-ud-Din in his recent book, *India in the Balance* (p. 136), says, "As to the change of religion and its penalty under the Moslem rule, there need be no misgiving. *In Islam there is no penalty for apostasy.*" Such a statement is categorical. He goes on to say, "Islam is not a religion of the sword. On the contrary, it is a religion of peaceful conversion, tolerant in ideal and altogether democratic in its world vision. As such it must be judged by its principles and its laws and not by their breach."

In the *Islamic Review* (November 1916) we read: "It can be very safely asserted that Islam does not prescribe any punishment in this world for apostasy. This, for very obvious reasons, is due to the fact that the greatest triumphs of the True Religion of Allah have throughout lain in the fact of its being extremely rational, persuasive, and human." And (to quote one more apologist for Islam) Mohammed Ali, M.A., in his English translation of the Koran has a footnote on the subject of apostasy, in which he states that "*neither here nor anywhere else in the Holy Koran is there even a hint of the infliction of capital or any other punishment on the apostate.*" While the *Islamic Review,* not satisfied with this special plea regarding the Koran, makes an appeal to Tradition, saying that "the life of the Holy Prophet, whose each and every act has been minutely recorded by historians, likewise is destitute of any direct or indirect reference which might give us any hint as to the apostate having been condemned to die solely for his change of faith." Such statements cannot be allowed to stand unchallenged. This little book may be considered as a presentation of the facts on the other side of the question; and we leave the decision to the candid reader.

Cairo, 1924. S. M. ZWEMER.

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CHAPTER I.

WHY SO FEW MOSLEM CONVERTS?

" Those who care for Christ's Kingdom of God now know for certain that the evangelization of Moslems is possible. And they know, too, that the cant P. & O. first-class-passenger axiom about the impossibility of Moslem conversion to Christianity is utterly baseless, and has been confuted by contrary fact, in almost all countries, again and again. Conversions from Islam in the East Indies and parts of Africa run into tens of thousands : and in other parts of the Moslem world, such as India, Persia and Egypt, they are regular and familiar phenomena, if not yet relatively numerous. And reports which come to hand of secret conversion and secret inquiry in lands where the penalty for apostasy is death, show what would happen there too were freedom of conscience once granted and made efficacious."

CANON W. H. T. GAIRDNER in " International Review of Missions."

The Law of Apostasy in Islam

CHAPTER I.

Why so Few Moslem Converts?

In considering the task of evangelizing the Moslem world we must record at the same time great sacrificial effort and apparently small visible result. Looking back to the early pioneers such as Raymond Lull and Francis of Assisi, or down the past century to Henry Martyn's day, what is there to show for all the tears and blood save the patience of unanswered prayer. Like Simon Peter, the lonely worker at Tangier or Tanta, at Adana or Aden, at Khartoum or Kairwan, might well say, "Master, we have toiled all night and taken nothing, nevertheless, at Thy word we will let down the net." A confession of faithfulness—"We have toiled." A confession of failure—"We have taken nothing." A confession of dauntless faith—"Nevertheless we will let down the net."

These three short phrases on the lips of the Fisherman-Apostle express actual conditions in the world of Islam. In Peter's boat there doubtless were a few little sun-fish and some eels entangled in the net, but in fisherman's vocabulary, in the parlance of the market-place, Peter spoke the truth when he said, "Master, we have toiled all night and taken nothing."

It is true that there are converts from Islam; in Java and Sumatra, no less than 45,000, won by faithful preaching and by witness for Christ; and yet the Dutch and the German missionaries do not think their work very successful among Mohammedans, because among the cannibal tribes, and Animists, they have won for Christ in less than a century well-nigh 900,000 converts. In India, too, there are thousands of Mohammedan converts; in *every* field there is some proof, thank God, that the Gospel is the power of God unto salvation also to Mohammedans, and yet when we report facts the

paucity of converts in every one of these fields is the great outstanding fact.

Mr. Findlay Andrew writes from Western China: "Islam has been referred to, as a challenge to Christian missions; once a Moslem always a Moslem in Western China. During the past years but few Moslems have been reached with the Gospel, and after a profession of faith been accepted as church members or enquirers, the number has been very small, and of those who have got the faith only about one remains in church fellowship at the time of my writing."

In Persia there are beginnings of a movement toward Christ among Mohammedans, and yet, after fifty years and more of missionary effort, there are fewer than 300 converts from Islam.

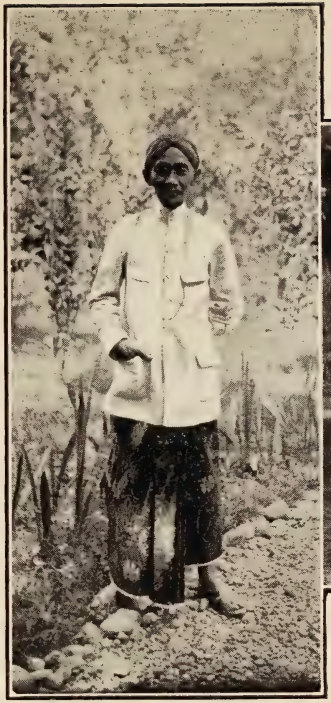
In Arabia, where men and women have toiled for thirty-four years, the total number of Mohammedan converts who are professing openly that they believe in the Lord Jesus Christ, and are His followers, is less than the number of years of toil and tears and patience and prayer poured out on those desert acres.

Turn to Turkey, and Dr. McCallum testifies: "All our work is practically destroyed; not a single church of Moslem converts in existence in all the Turkish area after a hundred years of foreign missions."

In North Africa, including Egypt, Tripoli, Tunisia, Algeria and Morocco, the total number of Mohammedans who profess and call themselves Christians must still be put at less than five hundred.[1]

Many reasons are given for the paucity of converts. Some

[1] "Although there are 438 missionaries in Egypt, and although some of the mission bodies are working almost exclusively for the Moslems, and although there are about 19,000 Evangelical Christians in Egypt with good church organizations and a well-educated ministry, and although there are in the various mission schools approximately 2,500 Moslem students continuously receiving instruction in Bible study, the visible result of the missionary work for Moslems is not very great. At the present time we probably could not point to more than 150 living converts from Islam in Egypt. If the Moslem converts were distributed among the missionary workers there would be about one convert for every three missionaries. If the comparison is made with the Evangelical Church, there would be about one for every congregation in Egypt. Every missionary method known to man has been tried and is being tried, but until the present neither the missions nor the Evangelical Church have whereof to boast in the face of this great and baffling problem."—*Missionary Survey*, 1924.



MOSLEM CONVERTS IN JAVA.

To the left, Dr. Ismail, a leading convert at Modjowarno, decorated by the Dutch Government for humanitarian service. To the right, a Sundanese Christian worker of the Methodist Episcopal Mission. In the centre, thirty-four "Apostates" from Islam, now being trained at Modjowarno for missionary service among their people as apostles.

blame the church for lack of faith; others the missionaries for lack of love. The reason, others say, is that we have tried to win by controversy rather than by kindness, and our difficulty is one of method. Again, we are told that the time is not yet, the hour has not struck, the harvest is not ripe.

In some cases hope deferred has made the heart sick. "I venture the opinion," wrote such an one, "that Islam is perhaps reprobate. Since the apostasy was subsequent to God's offer of grace in Christ, He has withdrawn them from his sphere of activity. Perhaps *corporately* Islam has sinned against the Holy Spirit. I have toiled here two years, living in this Moslem home, thinking and talking like a Moslem, knowing their inner life as perhaps few do. Why is it, I wonder? To be quite candid, I expected that coming here in absolute simplicity and poverty, living amongst them, as near as possible as I believe Paul did, without committees or funds, I asked and expected God to give the increase, and yet, comparatively speaking, we have caught nothing."

Now all the reasons given above for the meagreness of direct results in work for Moslems have a measure of truth, yet none of them are sufficient. It is our conviction that among the many reasons for the small number of converts to the Christian faith in Moslem lands there is, perhaps, none so important, and yet concerning which so little is accurately known, as the Moslem law regarding apostates. Every convert to Christianity is an apostate from Islam, and although there have been apostates throughout all the centuries, and we know of cases even during the life-time of Mohammed the Prophet, the law of apostasy has become fixed in Islam, and for thirteen centuries has exercised its dread, if not its power, under all conditions and in every land. The apostate dies to his faith and is regarded by his family as worse than dead.

What the feeling is in Egypt, for example, may be judged from the following notice sent out on black-edged paper and in a funereal envelope, by a Moslem father, notifying his friends of the apostasy of his son. It was dated October 30, 1909, and in every respect resembled a polite and formal notice of decease.

"MY SAD COMPLAINT.

"Whereas the Christians who belong to the Protestant Church have officially recorded a disgraceful act which cannot be wiped out and never shall be wiped out, by depriving me of the sight of my son, the favourite of my heart, even from a single glance of his portrait, and he being of the age of twenty-two years and seventy days ending on the day of his unhappy marriage, therefore let anyone who has any religion, and everyone, whatever may be his religious persuasion, shrink back from assisting these ravening wolves—especially those who share with them in their joys on the coming Sunday, to-morrow, in the Church of Al Miniya (which is called the Evangelical Church), because they are consciously renewing the age of persecution under Nero.

"(Signed) M. ABDULLAH."

During the war there was grave suspicion that a leading Moslem in Cairo deliberately arranged to have his son meet with a tramway accident rather than permit his public baptism. There have been cases in Egypt of relatives sending those of their family who had leanings towards Christianity into asylums for the insane, with the connivance of local authorities. The penalty of public confession in countries like Arabia and Afghanistan is well known.

Islam, from the earliest times and according to the teaching of the Koran, has always made it extremely easy to enter the Moslem brotherhood, and extremely difficult for those who once enter its fold to find exit. It is not an exaggeration to say that the doors of this vast temple reared by the Arabian Prophet swing only inward, not outward. Like a cunning trap, everything yields to the slightest pressure from without, but these very yielding doors are securely barred and barbed to lacerate those who attempt escape. Dr. D. S. Margoliouth called attention to this in his first lecture on "The Early Development of Mohammedanism":[1]

"It is a noteworthy fact about the Mohammedan system, that since the Migration it has demanded no qualifications for admission to its brotherhood. To those who are outside its

[1] *The Early Development of Mohammedanism*, London, 1914, p. 1.

pale it in theory offers no facilities whatever for the study of its nature; a man must enroll himself as a member first, and then only may he learn what his obligations are. The Koran may not be sold to Unbelievers; soldiers are advised not to take it with them into hostile territory for fear the Unbeliever should get hold of it; and many a copy bears upon it a warning to Unbelievers, '*Not to be touched.*' Pious grammarians have refused to teach grammar to Jews or Christians, because the rules are apt to be illustrated by quotations from the sacred volume. The Unbeliever is by one of the codes forbidden to enter a mosque; and even when permission is granted him to do so, he is an unwelcome guest. The crowning ceremony of Islam, the Pilgrimage, may be witnessed by no Unbeliever; the penalty for intrusion is death.

"It follows that such periods of instruction and probation as are enjoined by some other systems upon neophytes are unknown to Islam, and indeed there is no occasion for them. Their purpose is to test the neophyte's sincerity in the first place, and his moral worthiness in the second. Against insincerity the system is sufficiently armed by the principle that whosoever abandons Islam forfeits his life; there is then little danger of men joining for some dishonest purpose and quitting the community when that purpose has been served. A Moslem who is in peril of his life may indeed simulate perversion, and no difficulty is made about readmitting the repentant pervert; but where Islam can be safely professed the pervert cannot legally hope to be spared. And it follows from this principle that martyrdom in Islam means something very different from what it means to the Christian. The Christian martyr is the man who dies professing his faith, but not resisting; the Moslem martyr is one who dies for his faith on the battlefield; more often in endeavouring to force it upon others than in defending his own exercise thereof. For his sacred book expressly permits him to refrain from confessing where confession will result in death or torment."

In his history of the American Mission in Egypt (1854-1896) Dr. Andrew Watson states that during this period as many as seventy-five Mohammedans were baptized, most of them from the poorer classes; but all of them were subject

to persecution because the idea of personal liberty—freedom of conscience—has no place in Moslem law, whether religious or civil. "To this very day, relatives will bring about by secret poisoning or other means the death of those whose Christian proclivities cannot be removed by arguments or by promises." He mentions among others a graduate of one of the Government colleges who became interested in the study of the Bible and witnessed for Christ. "Efforts were made to reclaim him, but the learned men of his former religion could not stand before his clear reasoning and strong arguments. Force was then resorted to, and he was seized by a mob and dragged to the kadi's court. There he was not only maltreated, but, contrary to law, imprisoned. His goods were seized, his wife divorced him, and he himself sent to the Government hospital on the plea that he was insane. His arrest was promptly brought to the attention of Her Majesty's representative in Egypt, but Sharif Pasha, the Prime Minister, persuaded Her Majesty's Consul-General that the young man's presence as a converted Moslem would be the cause of excitement and disturbance and a possible religious mob, and he consented to a temporary removal of the young man from the country, or to what was in reality his banishment from his native land; and all because he had read his Bible, had become convinced of its truth, and dared to say so. Two other persons from the upper country, on its becoming known that they were attending Christian assemblies, were seized, beaten and imprisoned. Still persisting in their adherence to the Christian faith, they were sent to Cairo and kept in prison until, through the representations made to the Government through Sir Evelyn Baring (now Lord Cromer), they were brought to the American Mission in Cairo."

Of other cases we read that they were beaten, imprisoned, exiled, or in many ways deterred from embracing Christianity for fear of social persecution and family alienations. Correspondence received this year (1923) from a score of native pastors in Egypt seem to indicate that this spirit of persecution and intolerance is almost as prevalent as it was in the past. Any revival of nationalism seems to result in Islamic pride and manifestations of intolerance toward minorities.

The following letter, written by a Moslem convert in Cairo, shows better than any argument could do the conditions that obtained in Egypt in 1878. It was written on January 21st of that year. The writer afterwards escaped from Egypt, received a medical education in Scotland, and has had a remarkable career as a medical missionary in China :—

"TO HER HIGHNESS, THE MAHARANEE DULUP SINGH.

"As your Highness is a convert of the American Mission School in Cairo, and as you have much interest in all who love the Lord Jesus Christ in this city and in this land, I wish to take the liberty of telling you of my persecutions since I became a Christian five months ago. I am an Egyptian, and was a pupil in the American School five years, and also a teacher the last two years. My father is a strict Mohammedan, but when I was teaching and reading the Bible I found that the Mohammedan religion is not the true one. I searched many months for the true religion of God, and read the Bible very much, and some other books ; and when I found that Christianity is the true faith, I rejected my father's religion.

"Fearing that my father and relations would murder me, I intended to fly away from their faces ; but when I consulted Dr. Lansing and Dr. Watson, the two missionaries in Cairo, they persuaded me that Cairo would be safer for me than any other place. So it was arranged that I should come to Dr. Lansing's house for protection. I sent letters to my father and brothers about the reason for my leaving home and embracing Christianity. I wished very much to show my love to Christ and to profess His name, and so I was soon baptized in the Mission Chapel by my name Ahmed ———.

"My brothers and friends and sheikhs and learned men came often to see me and made much controversy with me, but by the help of God I was always victorious, which made them very angry. For fear of them, I never went out excepting to teach in the school, which is only a few steps from Dr. Lansing's house, and in a very public place. They had spies watching me for several days, and after five weeks, on coming home one afternoon, I was surrounded by ten persons, three of them being my brothers. They caught me, and putting their hands

on my mouth and eyes, thrust me in a closed carriage in a very violent manner.

"There was a café very near, and when some men saw this they came forward to stop the horses from going and to help me; but my uncle, who was standing near, called out 'Let them alone; this is by the order of the Government.' They took me to my father's house, assuring me that if I did not tell him that I was a Mohammedan when he asked me, he would kill me. I did tell him, however, that I was a Christian, and he brought the most learned philosopher in Cairo and a very learned man, and with many others present they talked with me very hotly eight hours, until I was sick and vomited.

"After three days of continued controversy, seeing that I would not yield, they then threatened me with immediate death according to their law, and in such a way I was certain it would be done. Now the great trial had come, and I began to feel a little weak. They wrote a paper saying that I had returned home of my own will and also to Mohammedanism, and forced me to put my name to it. They next took me to the police house and compelled me to write with my own hand to the same effect. After this they took me to the English Consulate, where I was again forced to say the same thing, as my brothers were secretly armed to kill me or any one who would defend me if I did not do so. Although after all this had been done they knew I was still a Christian at heart, it was proclaimed that I had returned to Mohammedanism, and they made a great feast to deceive and to take away the disgrace of the family. The controversy still continued, and after a month, when I wished to have my freedom and go to teach in the school they refused, I showed them even more strongly that I am still a Christian, and insisted upon my rights. But knowing the danger that I was now in, the Lord helped me to escape out of their hands; when I again sought refuge at Dr. Lansing's house, to whom I am certainly indebted for his kindness because of his giving me to eat and treatment as his own beloved son.

"Now I wish to tell your Highness that I am again a prisoner, unable to go out at all or even to step on the balcony; because they are so excited and watching me night and day, desiring to

quench their thirst with my blood, the blood of the helpless young Christian. My brothers, according to their law, often assured me that if they murdered me they would be martyrs for doing so. I thank God who delivered me out of the hands of my Government, which I fully believe is watching me and allowing my relatives to do whatever they please and wish, so that I may be destroyed. Oh, would that God would bring freedom and justice here very soon. How dreadful is such injustice and oppression. How freedomless is this miserable country. How many persecutions for embracing God's true religion I have suffered I cannot tell, and how many troubles I have endured. As I have no freedom and no prospect of liberty or safety, may I ask your Highness to have compassion on me; and, for the sake of Christ and of Justice, to help me and deliver me out of the hands of such wicked and barbarous people.

"I hope your Highness will excuse me for troubling you so much; but you will see that I am in great distress and need help. I know that you love Christ very much, and also all the people who suffer for His sake. As you are a friend of Her Majesty, the Good Queen of England, would you do me the great favour to beseech her to use her exalted power to help me, as I believe nothing else will avail. I wish her to know, also, that I not only ask her help for myself, but for many others who wish to embrace Christianity, but cannot for fear of persecution and death. I am very anxious to study the Holy Bible in the theological school, that I may, with the help of God, preach to the ignorant people in this land. I do not wish the Government to hear of this letter of your servant, lest it should tear me into pieces. I wish your Highness to pray for me that I may be strong and endure much, and all this help I ask for the sake of the Lord Jesus, for Whose name I have suffered much.

"I am your Highness' most obedient and most humble servant, etc.,

"A. F.

"P.S.—Since writing the above this morning I have received a secret visit from a true friend of my family, whom I can trust, begging me not to leave this house, assuring me that my life

will not be spared. My father has given orders to my brothers and all to kill me if they meet me and they are watching me constantly. You thus see my perilous state. May God help me, and shield me from the power of my many enemies.

"A. F.

"Sent Jan. 21st, 1878."

This letter is typical not only of past but of present conditions; from every part of the Moslem mission field the testimony is positive and accumulative that one of the chief causes for the paucity of converts and the difficulty of securing public confessions on the part of secret disciples is the intimidating power of this attitude towards apostates. A missionary of long experience in Egypt writes: "I should say that certainly the Moslem law on apostates seems to be a very real cause for the hesitation on the part of converts to pass over from their Islamic connections to become Christians. I do not say that it is a cause for the paucity of converts, but rather for the paucity of open confession in a legal way. I think we have every reason to be quite assured that, if that law were in some way annulled, there would be a very, very decided change."

"I think there can be very little room for doubt," writes the Rev. W. T. Fairman, "that the Moslem law concerning apostates is one of the factors to explain the paucity of converts from Islam to Christianity. Death, forced separation from wife and family, loss of property and legal rights, naturally cause many who are convinced of the truth of Christianity to hesitate to profess faith in Christ."

President C. F. Gates, of Robert College, Constantinople, states: "The fear of death is certainly one cause for the fewness of converts from Islam to Christianity. Every Moslem knows that his life is in danger if he becomes a Christian. I have known a good many instances of Moslems who would secretly assert themselves as Christians, but would make no open statement because of the danger attending it."

Another missionary writes as follows: "As far as Turks are concerned, the Moslem law of apostasy has been *the great cause for the paucity of converts*. I have this on the testimony of several of my Turkish friends. And Moslems who have accepted

Christianity here have always felt that they were endangering their lives by doing so. Theoretically the penalty of death has been abrogated, but, as a matter of fact, it still exists in actual practice. The only difference being that before its abrogation executions under this law took place in public, and now all usually known is that converts disappear."

The Rev. William Miller once asked a convert from Islam this question, "Is the law of apostasy a cause for the fewness of converts?" He replied, "It is *the cause*!" Mr. Miller says, "Persians know that some years ago scores of Babis and Bahais were killed in Yezd and elsewhere for having left Islam: and there is a universal fear that such a fate may await any one who dares apostatize. Bahaism enjoins *taqiyet* (concealment of faith) as a duty, but Christianity demands public confession; and hence in Persia it is far easier to become a Bahai than to become a Christian. The law does not prevent earnest men from becoming Christians, but it prevents many weaker seekers for the truth from pressing on to a thorough study of Christianity."

The same testimony comes from lands where British or French rule has been established, and where we might expect a change in the attitude toward the apostate. "In my Indian experience," writes the Rev. H. U. Weitbrecht-Stanton, D.D., "the direct operation of this law is confined to the North-west Frontier and to Afghanistan. Even in the districts under British administration, however, the *spirit* of the Moslem death penalty for apostasy is operative. The life of Pennell furnishes instances. Abdu'l Karim was done to death in British territory, and he was not the only one. Unquestionably, the absence of converts in Afghanistan, and their paucity in the North-west Frontier Province, as compared with the Central Punjab, is due to the peril to life and limb which the convert suffers in the former, but is protected from in the latter."

"If apostasy, according to the Koran, is death, then the Moslems of Algeria have no legal right at present to enforce such a law," says Mr. Alfred R. Shorey. "Attempts have been made, however, to poison converts and persecute them. A case which came directly under my notice was that of a young Arab from Tunisia, who was brought to Christ, I believe, through Mrs. Flad of Tunis. The young fellow's relatives tried

to poison him. He went to England and found work there for a few months; and then through the good offices of Mrs. Parker, wife of the celebrated Dr. Parker, City Temple, London, he was sent to Canada, and finally became a naturalized Canadian. After twelve years' absence he returned to North Africa, and went to see his parents; but he was even then afraid that his father might poison or kill him. Another case was that of a Kabyle girl, a baptized Christian, and now married to a Christian Kabyle. She was twice poisoned, either through jealousy or Moslem fanaticism; probably through both, for she openly confessed faith in Christ. The second time she was very ill, and at death's door; but was raised up, we believe, in answer to prayer. To my mind, the chief cause of paucity in the number of converts is fear of persecution and lack of moral courage."

Mr. James L. Lockhead writes as follows: "Algeria being under French law, and there being liberty of conscience, I do not think that we can say that the Moslem law regarding apostates accounts for the paucity of converts. Yet there is always the deep-rooted idea in every one brought up in Islam that to leave Islam for another religion is an awful and unpardonable sin. I do not know of any convert here who has been put to death for his faith in Christ. This is because Moslems are afraid of French law; but many of the fanatical Moslems would fain put the converts to death and have said so. I was walking on the street in Tunis with Sidi Elbeddai, our Bible Depôt-keeper there, and two Moslem students from the mosque passed. In passing they spat on the ground as they saw Sidi El Beddai, and said, 'Dog, son of a dog.' This indicated their feelings. Another convert from Tunis left there a number of years ago for Canada. After an absence of a few years he returned on a visit to his parents who were still in Tunis. He refused to live with them, and through fear of treachery was very careful of what food he partook. I do not consider that it would be very safe for one of our converts to go into a country alone, or to be much in the Arab town after dark. He could be done away with, and it would be most difficult to trace the culprits. It seems to me that the case of women converts, especially among the middle or upper classes, is even

more dangerous. If a woman convert took a decided stand as a Christian in the face of fanaticism she could be disposed of easily."

We are told that in Tunisia the Moslem law for apostates is not directly a cause for the paucity of converts. "I do not know that the law has ever been formally abolished or annulled," writes Mr. Evan E. Short, "but under French protectorate its operation is unimaginable. There is sometimes, however, a certain fear of what the Moslem authorities might do, and this hinders inquirers. But the strong deterrent cause is fear of family, social and business boycotting and persecution; which might even bring about death."

Even when our correspondents do not state that the law against apostates is the cause of timidity in confessing Christ, they point out that the attitude toward a convert who has left the fold is one of secret, and often open, hostility. Miss I. Lilias Trotter says: "As to your query about the effects in Algeria of the Moslem law in regard to converts, we do not think that it has much to do with their paucity and timidity, for appeal can always be made to the French law. We have known several cases of threatened disinheritance, and of converts who have had to relinquish their share of income that might have been theirs; but their affairs are, apart from Christianity, so apt to be in a tangle, and the proceeds of property are so difficult to obtain unless those interested are on the spot, that we have never taken those matters very seriously; and the breaking of Ramadan does not, as a rule, involve more than being hooted at in the street. In Tunisia it is different; and we have known of two of three cases of deliberate injustice on the part of the families of converts, from which there seemed to be no appeal. The latest, in this year, was the case of a North Africa Mission convert, who went to his native town to claim his share of his father's inheritance, but was violently opposed by twelve of his relations on account of his confession of Christ, and was thrown into prison for three days and then sent off empty-handed. On his way back to his station in another Tunisian town, he was again put in prison for three days for breaking Ramadan. Here in Algeria our trouble is

not so much this open opposition as it is the brain-drugs or probably hypnotism, which are used to 'will' the converts away; and if the life in them is weak and faltering, they are often brought thus into a paralysed state of soul. We believe that three-fourths of the cases of backsliding might be traced to this source, if the full truth were known."

In Java and in China, where Buddhism and Confucianism have largely modified the exclusiveness and intolerance of Islam, we yet find traces of the same spirit toward any Moslem who abandons his faith.

"If I did not know I would myself be put to death for it," said a Mohammedan in Java to one of his relations who had been converted to Christianity, "you would not leave this house alive, you wretched dog of a Christian."[1]

Another instance is given by Simon, which is pathetic in its pregnant significance; "One of our finest Mohammedan Christians passed through a very dark time for years. One misfortune followed upon another, and he was exposed to constant persecution at the hands of his Mohammedan relatives. At last his wife also died after the birth of a child. He could not find a Christian wife. His Mohammedan relations found him a Mohammedan woman. He could not stand against this great temptation; he fell away. He, of course, received the wife only on condition that he himself became a Mohammedan. He then wrote his missionary this characteristic letter: 'The sorrow God has sent upon me is too great, and the temptation too severe. I cannot endure. I have become a Mohammedan that I may again have a wife. I have received my portion from God, like the Prodigal Son. I will consume it with riotous living. The good seed has fallen with me among thorns and been choked by them. I am now a lost sheep, which is lost in the wilderness. May other Christians not imitate my conduct. I have not become a Mohammedan because I really consider the religion of the Mohammedan a good one. I know that the Lord Jesus is alive and sitting at the right hand of God in heaven. Five of my people have already died as Christians. My purpose used to be never to be parted from them. My prayer now is

[1] *Progress and Arrest of Islam in Sumatra*, by Simon, p. 285.

that master (the missionary) and his wife would help me to lead my wife over to Christianity, so that I, like the Prodigal, may return from the far country to God our Father."[1]

In his recent book, *The Crescent in North-west China*, Mr. G. Findlay Andrew sums up this baffling difficulty in words which might be used of other lands as well as of China. "Islam has often been referred to as the Challenge to Christian Missions. 'Once a *Hwei-hwei* (Moslem) always a *Hwei-hwei*' may rightly be said to be a direct challenge to the Church of Christ to-day. During the past years a few *Hwei-hwei* have been reached with the Gospel, and after a profession of faith have been accepted either as Church members or as enquirers. The number has, however, been very small, and of those who 'have kept the faith' only about one remains in Church fellowship at the time of writing. In one station in the far west of the province four *Hwei-hwei* were baptized a few years ago on confession of their faith in Jesus Christ as a personal Saviour. The persecution they had to endure was great, and in some cases life itself was threatened. This possibly was the cause of their falling away after having run well for a season."[2]

The first Moslem convert I myself ever met was Kamil Abdel Messieh. He found Christ in Syria, was baptized at Beirut, and was a faithful, brave pioneer evangelist along the coast of Arabia in our Mission (1890-1892). And then—the law of apostasy was applied, and he died of poison at Busrah, and was buried in a Moslem grave. The story of his life was told by Henry H. Jessup, D.D., in *The Setting of the Crescent and the Rising of the Cross*" (Philadelphia, 1898). As I pen these lines, thirty-two years later, at Cairo, a Moslem student has just left my study, whose father turned him out-of-doors and threatens to kill him if he continues to read Christian books. He asked me, "What shall I do then with the words of our Master, 'Whosoever denies Me before men'?" And then the homeless lad looked with pitiful longing for an answer as we prayed together. He knew the Moslem law regarding apostates.

[1] *Progress and Arrest of Islam in Sumatra*, by Simon, p. 323.
[2] *The Crescent in North-west China*, by Andrew, p. 110.

CHAPTER II.

THE LAW OF APOSTASY.

" The grand vizir of Turkey in 1843, *in an official letter to Lord Ashley, stated : ' The laws of the Koran compel no man to become a Mussulman, but they are inexorable both as respects a Mussulman who embraces another religion, and as respects a person who, having of his own accord publicly embraced Islam, is convicted of having renounced that faith. No consideration can produce a commutation of the capital punishment to which the law condemns him without mercy.' "*

W. St. Clair Tisdall, in *Missionary Review.*

CHAPTER II.

The Law of Apostasy.

In this chapter we propose to give the passages in the Koran which deal with apostasy, together with the interpretation of these passages in standard commentaries. Also to show from Moslem Tradition and standard law books what the code of Islam is in case of apostasy, and the penalties prescribed.

The word apostate in Arabic is *murtadd*, and one who apostatizes is called *man artadd 'an dinihi*, i.e. "Who turns his back on religion." Two words are used for apostasy in Moslem law: *irtidad* and *ridda*. The latter term relates to apostasy from Islam into unbelief, *kufr*; the former, from Islam to some other religion, for example, Christianity.[1] The passages in the Koran dealing with apostasy are the chapter of *Women*, verse 90; the chapter of the *Table*, verse 59; and the chapter of the *Bee*, verse 108, viz:

"Why are ye two parties about the hypocrites, when God hath overturned them for what they earned? Do ye wish to guide those whom God hath led astray? Whoso God hath led astray ye shall not surely find for him a path. They would fain that ye misbelieve as they misbelieve, that ye might be alike; take ye not patrons from among them until they too fight in God's way; *but if they turn their backs, then seize them wheresoever ye find them, and take from them neither patron nor help*" (IV. 90, 91). "O ye who believe! Whoso is turned away from his religion—God will bring (instead) a people whom He loves and who love Him, lowly to believers, lofty to unbelievers, strenuous in the way of God, fearing not the blame of him who blames" (V. 59).

It will be sufficient to quote what the standard commentary of Baidhawi says on the first passage: "Whosoever turns back from his belief (*irtada*), openly or secretly, take him and kill him wheresoever ye find him, like any other infidel.

[1] *Mufradat-fi-gharib-ul-Quran-lil Sheikh-ar-Raghib*, p. 191.

Separate yourself from him altogether. Do not accept intercession in his regard."

All other standard commentaries agree with Beidhawi in their comment on the verse.

A third Koran passage is the chapter on The Bee, XVI. 108. In this verse two types of apostates are distinguished: those who are compelled to apostatize, on whom judgment is lenient; and those who apostatize from their own free will. The commentaries on this passage, also, leave no doubt as to the interpretation. "Whoso disbelieves in God after having believed, unless it be one who is forced and whose heart is quiet in the faith,—but whoso expands his breast to misbelieve,—on them is wrath from God, and for them is mighty woe! That is because they preferred the love of this world's life to the next; but verily God guides not the unbelieving people."

Perhaps it is a mistake to use as our fourth reference Surah II. 214, to prove that apostasy merits the death penalty. This verse need not be translated as Dr. W. St. Clair Tisdall has translated it,[1] "Whosoever shall apostatize from his religion, *let him die for it,* and he is an infidel"; but correctly, "Whosoever shall apostatize from his religion and dies, he is an infidel." And we are not dependent on *one* Koran text, but a careful examination even of the last passage, together with the interpretation of the same, leaves no doubt that *according to the commentators* the Koran here also declares the punishment for apostasy to be death.

The famous commentary of Al Khazan (used most extensively in the Mohammedan University called Al Azhar), quotes from Malik ibn Anas, Ahmad ibn Hanbal and others, and gives this interpretation of the verse: "All the deeds of the apostate become null and void in this world and the next. *He must be killed.* His wife must be separated from him and he has no claims on any inheritance" (page 155, vol. i, Cairo edition). Ath Tha'alibi (788 A.H.), in his commentary on Sura II, verse 214, leaves no doubt that the verse in question, whatever the grammatical construction may be, demands the death of the apostate. (Cf. vol. i, p. 167, Algiers edition, 1323).

[1] *Mizan-ul-Haqq,* by Pfander, revised by Tisdall, p. 364, London 1910.

Finally the great commentary of Fakhr-ud-Din-ar-Razi (vol. ii, p. 220, lines 17 to 20, Cairo edition, 1308) distinctly favours the interpretation of this verse as given in the translation by Dr. Tisdall and objected to by the Woking critics. He says the apostate should be killed and loses his wife and heritage. Still it is only fair to state that the Arabic Koran text does not necessarily require this rendering, and that Tabari in his commentary does not seem to favour it. In Zarkani's commentary on *Al Muwatta* (vol. iii, p. 193) there are many examples given of Jews and Christians who turned Moslem, and when they afterwards apostatized were immediately killed. The statement is made that "*change from Islam to any religion whatever requires the death penalty.*" *Al Nahayat fi Gharib al Hadith,* by Ibn Athir (Cairo edition, vol. iv, p. 38), gives instances how the law was applied, and defines when the apostate becomes a *Kafir.* And to quote, among many, only *one* Moslem history used as a textbook in the secondary schools of Egypt, Ibn Taqtaqi, in his History called *Al Fakhri fil Adab as Sultaniya* (p. 67, Cairo edition, 1317), says that Abu Bekr killed all the apostates of Mecca after the death of Mohammed.

Islamic law is based in the first instance on the teaching of the Koran, but no less on Moslem Tradition. These two primary sources then become fixed as canon law by what is called general agreement, *Ijmaʿa.* All books on canon law, therefore, include a section on the punishment due to apostasy. Generally this section is grouped with those on other crimes that demand corporal punishment. These are seven : rebellion, apostasy, adultery (on the part of a free woman), reviling, wine-drinking, theft, and highway-robbery.[1]

The earlier laws and practices in regard to the apostate from Islam were perhaps less rigid and less severe than those codified after the Moslem state extended its domain and authority beyond Arabia. Many of the "Traditions" regarding apostates were manufactured to express later tendencies for which Divine authority and the Prophet's example were needed.[2] Yet the manufacture of such Traditions is the more

[1] Cf. Al Ghazali's *Wajiz,* vol. ii, pp. 164-169 (Cairo 1317).

[2] Cf. Caetani's *Annali dell' Islam* (Introduction), vol. i : 340 and 352 ; vol. ii : A. H. 11 sec., 77, 120, 128 ; vol. iii : A. H. 14 sec., 252, etc.

significant as they became part of orthodox Islam long before the laws were codified.

This great authoritative source of Moslem law, Tradition, is called in Arabic *Hadith*. Mark Twain once defined a "classic" as a piece of literature which every one talked about but no one had read. One fears that this remark would apply to the *Hadith* as regards many who profess to interpret Islam, and who are well aware that the Koran is not the only source of Islamic theology, jurisprudence and the practical duties of daily life. These sources, indeed, are four; and among them the *Hadith* is undoubtedly of the greatest importance. Both in quantity and in quality of interest and of influence the *Hadith* collections surpass the Koran. *Ijma'a* and *Qiyas* also (i.e. the agreement of the learned as representing the body of believers and their legal deductions) are based on *sunnat-an-nabi*, i.e. the practice or example of the Prophet as recorded in Traditions. What the *mihrab* (prayer-niche) is to the true *Kibla* Mecca, that the *Hadith* is to the *sunnat*. It is the exact indication of what Mohammed did and what has, therefore, Divine approval and authority.

These collections of Traditions are as popular among the common people as Sheldon's *What Would Jesus Do?* proved popular as a story. Only in the former case it is not religious fiction, but actual divine revelation (*al-wahi-ghair-al-matlu*). The six standard collections are well known by name, but who has read them? In the sixth century of the Hijra, Imam Hussain al Baghawi prepared a careful and authoritative collection from all of the six standard books, and entitled it *Mishkat-ul-Masabih*. This volume had an enormous vogue, and is perhaps the best known summary of the vast Moslem Talmud. It has been translated by Moslems into Persian and other languages, and was translated into English by Captain Matthews and published at Calcutta in 1809. A new but greatly abridged translation by Rev. William Goldsack appeared in 1923.[1]

It is as hopeless to judge of the real character of Islam from the Koran alone, as it is to deduce the beliefs and

[1] Christian Literature Society for India. *Selections from Mohammedan Traditions*. Translated from the Arabic. 1923: Madras.

practices of Christians in Mexico from the Pauline epistles, or of orthodox Judaism from the Pentateuch. There is not a single Moslem sect that looks to the Koran as the only rule of faith and practice. The lock of Koran obscurity opens only to the key of Tradition. The *Hadith* is at once the strength and the weakness of Islam. It reveals the real Mohammed and indicts him. Intelligent Moslems reverence and yet dread the collections of Al-Bukhari and Muslim. The untrustworthiness of many of the Traditions and the weakness of the whole as a support of Islam only increases the importance of knowing them.[1]

The most celebrated collection among the six standard works on Traditions is that of Bukhari. He devoted sixteen years to his selection of seven thousand orthodox Traditions out of six hundred thousand that were current. In every standard collection of this sort we find a special section devoted to the subject of apostasy and the treatment apostates received at the hands of Mohammed or his companions. The commentaries on the Traditions leave no doubt as to their interpretation. Such Traditions in regard to apostates and Mohammed's estimate and treatment of them are given in both Bukhari and Muslim. The two standard commentaries on the former give much additional information, and add also the comment on the Koran passages that deal with apostasy, viz.: *Fath-ul-Bari*, by Al Askalani, vol. xii, pp. 89-91 and pp. 214-225 (Cairo edition); and *'Amdat-ul-Qari*, by Al 'Aini, vol. xi, pp. 143-144 and pp. 230-236. The first section in both of these commentaries on the *Hadith* is entitled, "On Unbelievers and Apostates who make war on Islam"; the second section in both is entitled, "On the repentance of Apostates and Rebels, and when killing them is incumbent." To begin with the famous collection of forty Traditions by An-Nawawi, we find the following: "The Apostle of God said the blood of a fellow-Moslem should never be shed except in three cases; that of the adulterer, the murderer,

[1] Cf. Professor Wensinck's article in the *Moslem World* for July 1921. He says: "It is not amazing that the canonical books of Tradition—especially Bukhari and Muslim—in the eyes of the community have acquired a rank nearly as high as the Koran. Oaths are sworn on a copy of Bukhari; at times of public calamity or danger the book is read to repel them; they are a staff and weapon for Moslems to this day."

and whoever forsakes the religion of Islam." The comment given on this Tradition is as follows: "The adulterer should be stoned; the murderer, when convicted of his crime, should be killed with the sword; but he who departs from Islam, becoming disobedient to God and His Apostle, let him be cut off or crucified or destroyed from the earth."

Other Traditions are given as follows: "It is related from 'Ikrimah that he said, 'Hypocrites were brought to 'Ali and he burnt them.' The news of that reached Ibn 'Abbas, and he said, 'If it had been I, I would not have burnt them, because of the prohibition of the Apostle of God; Do not punish with the punishment of God; but I would certainly have killed them according to the word of the Apostle: Whosoever changes his religion, kill him.'"—*Al Bukhari.*

"It is related from 'Ali that he said, 'I heard the Apostle of God say: There will come forth a people at the end of time, young in age and foolish in vision, who will speak the best words in creation; but their faith will not pass their throats. They will pass through religion as an arrow passes through the thing hit. Therefore, whenever ye meet them, kill them; for verily for whoever kills them there is a reward on the day of resurrection.'"—*Muslim,* and *Al Bukhari.*

"It is related from Anas that he said, 'A band of men of the 'Ukl tribe came to the Prophet and embraced Islam. But they fell ill at Madina, so the Prophet ordered them to go to the camels given in alms and drink their urine and milk. Then they did so and regained their health. *After that they apostatized* and killed the keepers of the camels and drove off the camels. Then (the Prophet) sent after them, and they were brought back. Then he cut off their hands and feet and put out their eyes. After that he did not staunch the bleeding until they died.' And in another Tradition it runs, 'drove nails into their eyes.' And in another Tradition it runs, 'He ordered nails, and they were made hot; and he pierced them with them. And he cast them out on to the stony plain. And they asked for a drink, but they were not given to drink, until they died.'"—*Muslim,* and *Al Bukhari.*[1]

We would not quote such Traditions if it were not necessary

[1] See facsimile text of the last tradition, opposite page 40.

in order to refute the statements of those who constantly assert that there is no penalty for apostasy in Islam. In one case they even base their assertion upon the Traditions above given.

For example, in 1922 the Moslems of the Ahmadiya Sect in Britain with headquarters at Woking, circulated in the House of Commons and elsewhere a paper dealing with apostasy in Islam. It consists of special pleading to show that Islam has always been a religion of tolerance, and has protected minorities of Christians and Jews. The argument is specious but not convincing. We quote two paragraphs : " In the days of the prophet all the reliable records of his life are silent on the subject. There were many apostasies doubtless, but no one was punished, for it is, and has ever been, the watchword of Islam, that there shall be no compulsion in religion."

" We, however, read of the putting to death of the party of 'Ukl in our traditions who, after professing Islam, feigned that the climate of Medina was insalubrious, and being told to go to the place where the herds of camels belonging to the State were grazed, murdered the keepers and drove the herds along with them. They were charged under the crime of murder and dacoity, for which the punishment of death has been provided in Ch. v, verse 33. This episode has generally been cited by the Quranic commentators under the verse which ordains the death penalty for murder and dacoity ; and there is no other case which can even be twisted to show that the punishment of death was ever inflicted on apostasy from Islam."

We leave the reader to judge whether " this episode " given in every standard work on Tradition under the head of "*Apostates*" was recorded to illustrate the penalty for murder and robbery or the penalty for apostasy. Whatever may have been the original intention, Moslems themselves have considered it an authoritative Tradition for the application of the death penalty on apostates.

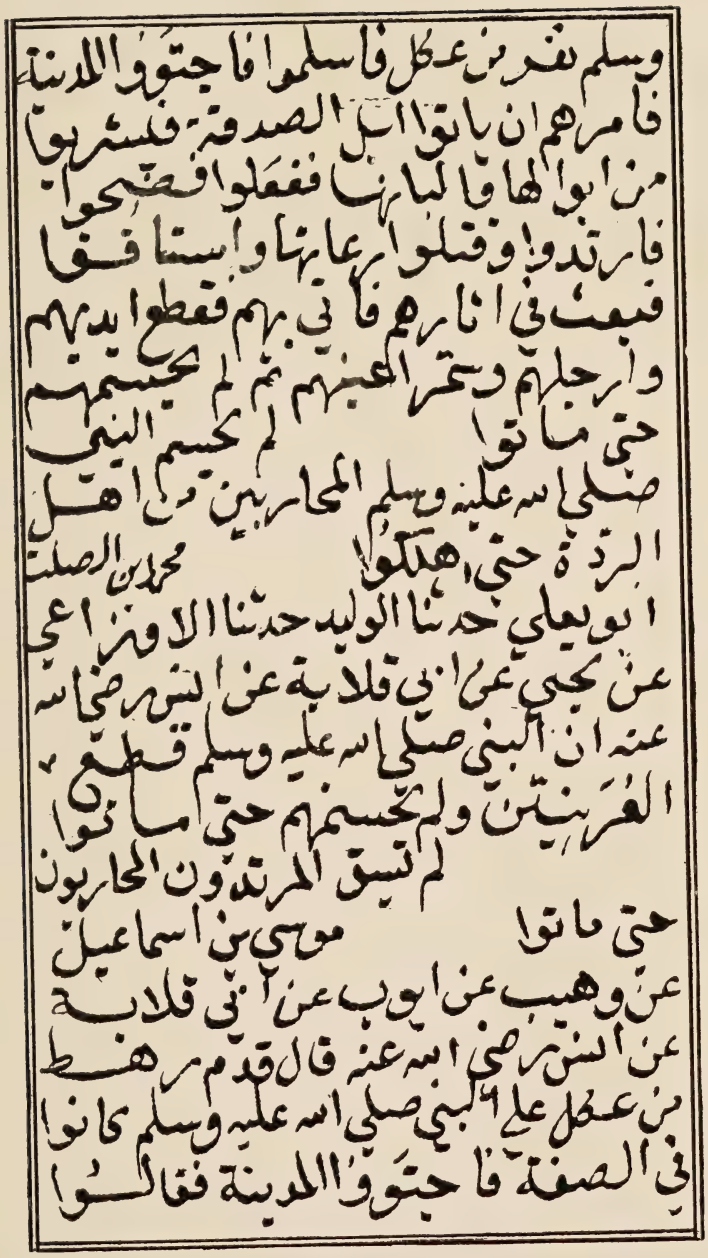
We turn now to the various books on jurisprudence used in Moslem law schools.

One of the most famous books of Hanafi Law is that called the *Hedaya*, by Burhan ed Din Ali. It was translated by Charles Hamilton by Order of Council in Bengal, and the English edition was printed in London in 1791. Translations of this

code are found in Turkish and other languages. It is used as a text-book in schools of law and is authoritative. We quote from volume II, chapter ix, page 225, "The Law concerning Apostates":—

"When a Mussulman apostatizes from the faith, an exposition thereof is to be laid before him in such a manner that if his apostasy should have arisen from any religious doubts or scruples, those may be removed. The reason for laying an exposition of the faith before him is that it is possible some *doubts* or *errors* may have arisen in his mind, which may be removed by such exposition; and as there are two modes of repelling the sin of apostasy, namely, *destruction* or *Islam*, and as Islam is preferable to destruction, the evil is rather to be removed by means of an exposition of the faith; but yet this exposition of the faith is not incumbent (according to what the learned have remarked upon this head), since a call to the faith has already reached the apostate.

"An apostate is to be imprisoned for three days; within which time, if he returns to the faith, it is well; but if not, he must be slain. It is recorded in the *Jam'a Sagheer* that "an exposition of the faith is to be laid before an apostate, and if he refuse the faith he must be slain"; and with respect to what is above stated, that "he is to be imprisoned for three days," it only implies that if he requires a delay, three days must be granted him, as such is the term generally admitted and allowed for the purpose of consideration. It is recorded from *Hanifa* and *Abou Yusef* that the granting of a delay of three days is laudable, whether the apostate require it or not: and it is recorded from *Shafi'i* that it is incumbent on the Imam to delay for three days, and that it is not lawful for him to put the apostate to death before the lapse of that time; since it is most probable that a Mussulman will not apostatize but from some doubt or error arising in his mind; wherefore some time is necessary for consideration, and this is fixed at three days. The arguments of our doctors upon this point are two-fold. First, God says, in the Koran, "Slay the unbeliever," without any reserve of a delay of three days being granted to him; and the Prophet has also said "*Slay the man who changes his religion*," without mentioning anything concerning a delay. Secondly, an apostate


وسلم نفر من عكل فاسلموا فاجتووا المدينة
فامرهم ان ياتوا ابل الصدقة فيشربوا
من ابوالها وابانها ففعلوا فصحوا
فارتدوا وقتلوا رعاتها واستاقوا
فبعث في اثارهم فاتي بهم فقطع ايديهم
وارجلهم وسمر اعينهم ثم لم يحسمهم
حتى ماتوا لم يحسم النبي
صلى الله عليه وسلم المحاربين من اهل
الردة حتى هلكوا محمد بن الصلت
ابو يعلى حدثنا الوليد حدثنا الاوزاعي
عن يحيى عن ابي قلابة عن انس رضي الله
عنه ان النبي صلى الله عليه وسلم قطع
العرنيين ولم يحسمهم حتى ماتوا
لم تسق المرتدون المحاربون
حتى ماتوا موسى بن اسماعيل
عن وهيب عن ايوب عن ابي قلابة
عن انس رضي الله عنه قال قدم رهط
من عكل على النبي صلى الله عليه وسلم كانوا
في الصفة فاجتووا المدينة فقالوا

Facsimile of a Manuscript Page from Al Bukhari; telling how Mohammed treated Apostates. (See page 38.)

is an *infidel enemy* who has received a call to the faith, wherefore he may be slain upon the instant, without any delay. An apostate is termed on this occasion an *infidel enemy*, because he is undoubtedly such; and he is not *protected*, since he has not required a protection; neither is he a *Zimmee*, because capitation tax has not been accepted from him; hence it is proved that he is an *infidel enemy*. It is to be observed that, in these rules, there is no difference made between an apostate who is a *freeman* and one who is a *slave*, as the arguments upon which they are established apply equally to both descriptions. . . .

If an apostate die or be slain in his apostasy, his property acquired during his profession of the faith goes to his heirs who are Mussulmans, and whatever he acquired during the apostasy is public property of the community of Mussulmans; that is, it goes to the public treasury. This is according to Hanifa. . . .

All acts of an apostate with respect to his property (such as purchase, sale, manumission, mortgage, and gift) done during his apostasy are suspended in their effect. If, therefore, he become a Mussulman those acts are valid; but if he die, or be slain, or desert into a foreign country, those acts are null.

"If any person kill an apostate, before an exposition of the faith has been laid open to him, it is abominable (that is, it is laudable to let him continue unmolested). Nothing, however, is incurred by the slayer; because the infidelity of an alien renders the killing of him admissible; and an *exposition* of the faith, after a *call* to the faith, is not necessary.

"If a Mussulman woman become an apostate, she is not put to death, but is imprisoned, until she return to the faith. *Shafei* maintains that she is to be put to death; because of the tradition before cited;—and also, because, as men are put to death for apostasy solely for this reason, that it is a crime of great magnitude, and therefore requires that its punishment be proportionably severe (namely, *death*), so the apostasy of a woman being likewise (like that of a man) a crime of great magnitude, it follows that *her* punishment should be the same as that of a *man*.[1]

[1] Hamilton's *Hadaya, or Guide; a Commentary on the Mussulman Laws*, vol. ii, p. 227. The same laws are given in all books on *fiqh* (jurisprudence). E.g. the celebrated manual, *Badayet-ul-Mujtahid*, by Ibn Rushdi Al Qartabi, vol. ii, p. 383 (Cairo edition).

"If a husband and wife both apostatize, and desert to a foreign country, and the woman become pregnant there, and bring forth a child, and to this child another child be afterwards born, and the Mussulman troops then subdue the territory, the child and the *child's* child both are plunder, and the property of the state: the *child* is so, because as the apostate mother is made a slave, her child is so likewise, as a dependant on her; and the *child's* child is so, because he is an original infidel and an enemy; and as an original infidel is *fee*, or the property of the state, so is *he*: the *woman's* child may, moreover, be *compelled* to become a Mussulman, but not the *child's* child. *Hassan* records from *Haneefa* that compulsion may be used upon the child's child also, to make him embrace the faith, as a dependant of the *grandfather*."[1]

In an article by Johann Kresmarik on criminal law in Turkey (*Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenlandischen Gesellschaft*, vol. lviii, pp. 69-113) there is one section on "*Irtidad*." He quotes from a number of Turkish law books, showing that their interpretation of the law for apostasy is no less severe than that above indicated.

An excellent summary of the Moslem law of apostasy is given by Juynboll in the *Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics*, vol. i, p. 625. He refers to other authorities, especially: Matthews' *Mishcat*, vol. ii, p. 177 f.; C. Snouck Hurgronje, *Indische Gids*, 1884, vol. i, p. 794; and *El Dimishqi-Targamet ul Umma fi Ikhtilaf al A'imat*, p. 138 (Bulaq edition, 1300).

Of the four Orthodox schools of Islam the Maliki sect seems to be the sternest with regard to apostasy. According to Captain F. H. Ruxton:[2]

"In Maliki and Shafti'i Law the punishment is irrespective of sex, whilst in Hanafi Law a female apostate is to be kept in confinement until she recant.

"Again, the *Hedaya* speaks of the possibility or otherwise of an apostate selling his property, of his marriage continuing, of the validity of his or her testamentary disposition, whilst in the *Mukhtassar* such dispositions are not admitted; seeing that the apostate is to be put to death on the third day on

[1] Hamilton's *Hadaya; a Commentary on the Mussulman Laws*, vol. ii, p. 244.
[2] The *Moslem World*, vol. iii, p. 38.

the evidence of two witnesses, whilst his or her property is forfeited to the *Bait-ul-mal*, and his or her testamentary disposition becomes null and void.

" In strict law, therefore, a convert cannot exist. But though in all probability no European Power has troubled itself over the Mohammedan Law of Apostasy, still we know that no man could directly be charged with the offence in any Native Court. His life is thus safeguarded by the Paramount Power ; but the convert himself, in the eyes of his fellow-men and of the law of the country, remains an outlaw."

He gives further particulars showing that although the life of the convert may be safeguarded by European Powers, yet the convert suffers certain legal disabilities, which he has summarized as follows :—

" 1. The convert's Moslem brothers are forbidden to give him branches to be carried on Palm Sunday ; to buy an animal slaughtered by him ; to sell him wood from which a crucifix might be made, or copper from which bells could be cast ; to alienate a house in order that it may be used as a church. (Cf. Ch. i, on the Use of the Flesh of Animals ; Ch. xiii, on Sale.)

" 2. A Moslem is forbidden to lend or hire to the convert the services of his slave, or to lend or hire him an animal to ride. A Moslem is forbidden to give, without payment, his personal services to a Christian. (Cf. Ch. xxvi, Commodatum ; Ch. xxxii, Hire.)

" It is, however, to be remarked that a *Hubus* (' endowment ') created by a Christian in favour of a church or hospital is valid. (Cf. Ch. xxxv, *Hubus*.)

" 3. A Christian may not bear witness against a Moslem, though the latter may bear witness against the former, under the same conditions as govern all evidence. (Cf. Ch. xxxix, Evidence.)

" 4. No Moslem, not even a slave, can be put to death for the murder of a Christian. (Cf. Ch. xl, Homicide.)

" 5. No Mohammedan woman may marry a Christian. (Cf. Ch. v, Marriage.)

" 6. Difference of religion is a bar to inheritance. (Cf. Ch. iv, Succession.)

"There are, of course, many more such disabilities, but none which need be reckoned of practical importance under present day conditions." So far Captain D. H. Ruxton.

In Turkey the Law of Apostasy was naturally the law of the courts for many centuries, until, on November 3rd, 1839, Sultan Abdul Medjid issued an imperial rescript named the *Hatti Sherif*, promising to protect the life, honour and property of all Ottoman subjects irrespective of religion. This was a great step forward. In August 1843, however, an Armenian youth, some twenty years of age, was beheaded in Constantinople for apostasy. He had once accepted Islam, then left the country; later on he returned to the practices of Christianity. "In spite of threats and promises he adhered to his ancestral faith, with the above results. Sir Stratford de Redcliffe did all in his power to save his life, but without success. This execution aroused the ambassadors of England, France, Russia, and Prussia, who united in a formal demand upon the Sultan to abolish the death penalty for a change of religion. Hitherto there had been full liberty to change from and to all non-Moslem religions, and for anyone to abandon the faith of his fathers and to embrace Islam, but the right had been denied to a Mohammedan to depart from that faith.

"Under pressure brought to bear by the before-named ambassadors, led by the British, the Sultan, on March 21st, 1844, gave a written pledge as follows:—'The Sublime Porte engages to take effectual measures to prevent, henceforward, the persecution and putting to death of the Christian who is an apostate.' Two days later Abdul Medjid, in a conference with Sir Stratford, gave assurance 'That henceforward neither shall Christianity be insulted in my dominions, nor shall Christians be in any way persecuted for their religion.'"[1]

Later history has shown how futile were all these promises and how the spirit of the law is interpreted by Islam triumphing again and again in spite of all treaties and regulations. The recent Armenian massacres were not the killing of apostates, but surely emphasize the fact that religious liberty does *not* exist under Turkish rule.

The Treaty of Berlin (1878, Art. 2) states that absolute

[1] *Daybreak in Turkey*, by James L. Barton (Boston: The Pilgrim Press), p. 250.

religious liberty is to exist in all the various territories mentioned in the preceding articles, including the "whole Turkish Empire." The Sixty-second Article begins: "The Sublime Porte, having expressed willingness to maintain the principle of religious liberty and to give it the widest sphere, the contracting parties take cognizance of this spontaneous declaration."

"A high official once told me," writes Dr. Barton, "that Turkey gives to all her subjects the widest religious liberty. He said, 'There is the fullest liberty for the Armenian to become a Catholic, for the Greek to become an Armenian, for the Catholic and the Armenian to become Greeks, for any one of them to become Protestants, or for all to become Mohammedans. There is the fullest and completest religious liberty for all the subjects of this empire.'

"In response to the question, 'How about liberty for the Mohammedan to become a Christian?' he replied, 'That is an impossibility in the nature of the case. When one has once accepted Islam and become a follower of the Prophet, he cannot change. There is no power on earth that can change him. Whatever he may say or claim cannot alter the fact that he is a Moslem still and must always be such. It is, therefore, an absurdity to say that a Moslem has the privilege of changing his religion, for to do so is beyond his power.' For the last forty years the actions of the official and influential Turks have borne out this theory of religious liberty in the Ottoman empire. Every Moslem showing interest in Christian things takes his life in his hands. No protection can be afforded him against the false charges that begin at once to multiply. His only safety lies in flight."[1]

The punishment of death is sometimes decreed for lesser offences. In the latter part of the year 1879 one of the Turkish 'Ulama, named Ahmad, was condemned to death for having assisted Dr. Koelle, an English clergyman residing in Constantinople, in the translation of the Book of Common Prayer and a tract on "Christ the Word of God." Owing to the urgent representations of the British Ambassador the man's life was spared, but he was banished to the island of Chio. Canon Sell (*Faith of Islam*, p. 278) writes:

[1] *Daybreak in Turkey*, by James L. Barton, pp. 256-7.

"On January 16th, 1844, the Earl of Aberdeen wrote to Sir Stratford Canning thus: 'The Christian Powers will not endure that the Porte should insult and trample on their faith, by treating as a criminal any person who embraces it.' All that was gained by this was the publication by the Porte of a Memorandum in the year 1856, containing these words: 'As all forms of religion are and shall be freely professed in the Ottoman dominions, no subject of His Majesty the Sultan shall be hindered in the exercise of the religion that he professes, nor shall he be in any way annoyed on this account. None shall be compelled to change his religion.' It will be seen that this does not meet the case of a convert from Islam, but the British Ambassador advised the British Government to be content with this statement. In a despatch, dated Feb. 12th, 1856, he says: 'The law of the Koran is not abolished, it is true, respecting renegades, and the Sultan's Ministers affirm that such a stretch of authority would exceed even His Majesty's legal powers.' The Ambassador went on to say that though this is the case, the British Government could remonstrate were the Koranic law applied."

There are references to the bearing of the law of apostasy in all Mohammedan works on jurisprudence. For example, we find the following regulations in a manual of the law of marriage from the Mukhtasar of Sidi Khalil, translated by A. D. Russell, a judge and magistrate in the Mohammedan colony of Trinidad, South America. The book is, therefore, intended for use as a present-day manual, and does not deal with conditions in past centuries.

"Section 107. (Where separation is imperative) in consequence of the conversion of one (of two spouses), the annulment of the marriage will be without repudiation.

"Section 108. Contrary to the principle indicated in the last section, an irrevocable repudiation is involved where separation becomes necessary owing to the apostasy of one of the spouses. This will be so even where the husband apostatizes in order to embrace his wife's faith."[1]

We read also in *Mohammedan Jurisprudence*, by 'Abd-ur-Rahim, that: "Apostasy or change of faith from Islam to

[1] *A Manual of the Law of Marriage from the Mukhtasar of Sidi Khali* (Translated by A. D. Russell: London), pp. 39-40.

infidelity places the apostate outside the protection of law. The law, however, by way of indulgence, gives the apostate a certain *locus poenitentiae*."[1] For instance, he will first be asked to conform to the Faith, and if he entertains any doubt, efforts must be made to remove it by argument. He will be given an option of three days to re-embrace the Faith before sentence is passed on him. But since a man loses the protection of law by the very act of apostasy, if a Moslem kills an apostate before the chance of re-embracing the Faith has been given, no penalty of the law will be incurred, although it will be considered as an improper act. According to the two disciples, so long as the sentence has not been passed on an apostate he will be allowed to retain possession of his property; but according to Abu Hanifa, it passes to his heirs at the instant of apostasy.

Perhaps the most succinct account of apostasy is that given in the celebrated book *Minhaj-at-Talibin*, by Nawawi. The adherents of this school of Shafi'i number some sixty million persons, of whom about half are in the Netherlands Indies, and the rest in Egypt and Syria, the Hadramaut, Southern India and Malaya. The manual from which this account is taken is a standard work in all of these countries and especially in Egypt.[2]

"Apostasy consists in the abjuration of Islam, either mentally, or by words, or by acts incompatible with faith. As to oral abjuration, it matters little whether the words are said in joke, or through a spirit of contradiction, or in good faith. But before such words can be considered as a sign of apostasy they must contain a precise declaration:

" (1) That one does not believe in the existence of the Creator, or of His apostles; or

" (2) That Mohammed, or one of the other apostles, is an imposter; or

" (3) That one considers lawful what is strictly forbidden by the *ijma'*, e.g. the crime of fornication; or

" (4) That one considers to be forbidden what is lawful according to the *ijma'*.

[1] *Mohammedan Jurisprudence*, by Abd-ur-Rahim (Thacker & Co.: Calcutta, 1911), p. 253.

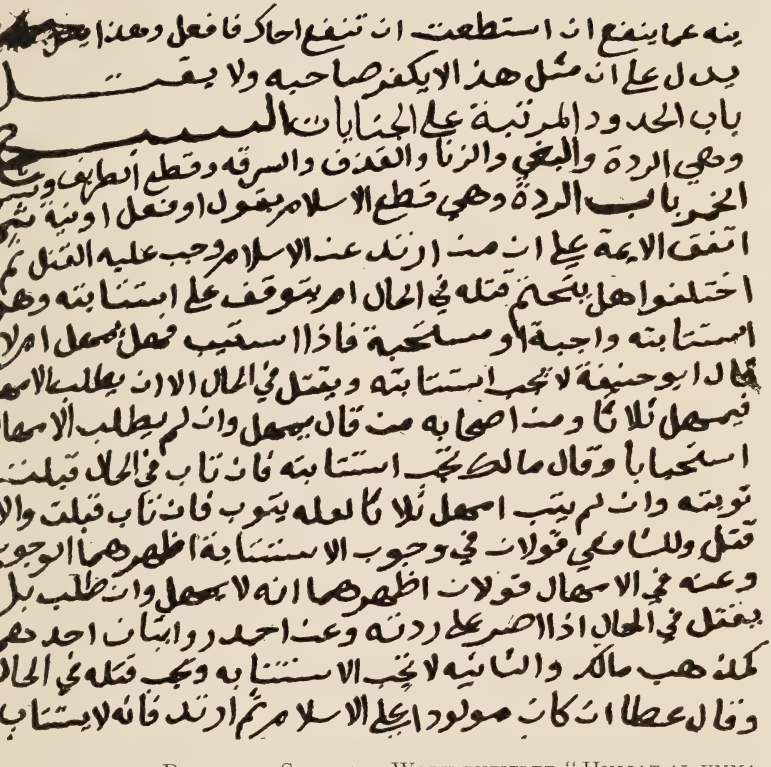
[2] *Minhaj-at-Talibin: a Manual of Mohammedan Law according to the School of Shafi'i*, by Nawawi, from the French Edition of A. W. C. van den Berg, by E. C. Howard, District Judge, Singapore. London: Thacker, 1914.

" (5) That one is not obliged to follow the precepts of the *ijma'*, as well positive as negative ; or

" (6) That one intends shortly to change one's religion ; or that one has doubts upon the subject of the truth of Islam, etc."

"As to acts, these are not considered to be incompatible with faith, unless they show a clear indication of a mockery or denial of religion, as, e.g. throwing the Koran upon a muck heap or prostrating oneself before an idol, or worshipping the sun. No account is taken of the apostasy of a minor or a lunatic, nor of acts committed under violent compulsion. Even where the guilty person, after pronouncing the words or committing the acts, becomes mad, he may not be put to death until he has recovered his sanity. This favour, however, does not, according to our school, extend to the case of drunkenness. Apostasy, and a declaration of having returned from one's errors, pronounced by a drunken person, have the ordinary legal consequences.

" Witnesses need not recount in all their details the facts that constitute apostasy ; they may confine themselves to affirming that the guilty person is an apostate. Other authorities are of the contrary opinion ; but the majority go so far as to make no account of the mere denial of the accused, even where the assertions of the witnesses are made in general terms. But where, on the other hand, the accused declares that he acted under compulsion, and the circumstances render this assertion plausible, e.g. if he has been kept a prisoner by infidels, he has a presumption in his favour, provided he takes an oath ; but this presumption does not arise in the absence of such circumstances. Only where the two witnesses required by law do not declare that ' the accused is apostate,' but that ' the words pronounced by him are words implying apostasy,' and the accused then maintain that he only pronounced them under compulsion, the presumption is in his favour, and it is not necessary for him to give more detailed explanations. Where, after the death of an individual whose faith has never been suspected, one of his sons who are both Moslems declares that his father abjured Islam and died impenitent, and adds the cause of the apostasy, this son alone is excluded from the



Facsimile of mss. Page from Standard Work entitled "Hujjat-al-umma fi Ikhtilaf-al-'Ima," by Abi Abdullah Mohammed Al Quraishi, A.D. 1450; prescribing the death penalty for apostasy.

succession, and his portion escheats to the State as a tax; but his deposition has no effect upon the rights of his co-inheritors. The same rule applies also where the cause of the crime is not mentioned and the son limits himself to saying that his father died apostate.

"An attempt should be made to induce the apostate to return from his or her errors, though according to one authority this is only a commendable proceeding. The exhortation should take place immediately, or, according to one jurist, in the first three days; and if it is of no effect, the guilty man or woman should be put to death. Where, on the contrary, the guilty party returns from his or her errors, this conversion must be accepted as sincere, and the converted person left alone; unless, according to some authorities, he has embraced an occult religion such as the Zend, whose adherents, while professing Islam, are none the less infidels in their heart, or some doctrine admitting of a mystic or allegorical interpretation of the Koran.

" The child of an apostate remains a Moslem, without regard to the time of its conception, or to one of its parents remaining a Moslem or not. One authority, however, considers the child whose father and mother have abjured the faith to be an apostate, while another considers such a child to be by origin an infidel. (The child should be considered as an apostate. This is what the jurists of Irak have handed down to us as the universally accepted theory.)

"As to the ownership of the property of an apostate dead in impenitence, it remains in suspense, i.e. the law considers it as lost from the moment of abjuration of the faith; but in case of repentance it is considered never to have been lost. However, there are several other theories upon the subject, though all authorities agree that debts contracted before apostasy, as well as the personal maintenance of the apostate during the period of exhortation, are charges upon the estate. It is the same with any damages due in consequence of pecuniary prejudice caused to other persons, the maintenance of his wives, whose marriage remains in suspense, and the maintenance of his descendant or descendants. Where it is admitted that ownership remains in suspense, the same principle must be applied to dispositions subsequent to apostasy, in so far as

they are capable of being suspended, such an enfranchisement by will, and legacies, which all remain intact where the exhortation is successful, though not otherwise. On the other hand, dispositions which, by their very nature, do not admit of such suspension, such as sale, pledging, gift, and enfranchisement by contract, are null and void *ab initio*, though Shafi'i, in his first period, wished to leave them in suspense. All authorities, however, are agreed that an apostate's property may in no case be left at his disposition, but must be deposited in charge of some person of irreproachable character. But a female slave may not be so entrusted to a man; she must be entrusted to some trustworthy woman. An apostate's property must be leased out, and it is to the court that his slave undergoing enfranchisement by contract should make his periodical payments."

So far the legal text-books of Islam. Observe, however, that all the above laws regarding apostasy are based in the first instance, as we have seen, on the Koran itself, which to all Mohammedans is the unalterable, eternal Word of God. The matter is summed up very briefly in the famous book *Al Madkhal*, of Mohammed Al Abdari Ibn Hadj, vol. ii, p. 181 (Cairo edition), where we read:

"As for apostates, it is permitted to kill them by facing them or coming upon them from behind, just as in the case of polytheists. Secondly, their blood if shed brings no vengeance. Thirdly, their property is the spoil of true believers. Fourthly, their marriage ties become null and void."

Thus far we have given the opinion of orthodox juriscults, all of them belonging to the Sunni school. This sect embraces the vast majority of Moslems everywhere. In Persia, parts of India and Mesopotamia, however, the Shi'ah sect are in the majority, and number altogether about fifteen millions. In their law books the law of apostasy is no less severe. We read: "Every individual of the male sex who, born in the religion of Islam, apostatizes, no longer enjoys the protection of Islam, but is *ipso facto* condemned to death. His wife should be separated from him; and his property is confiscate. . . .

"The woman guilty of apostasy is not punished with death, even if she was born in the Moslem faith, but she is

condemned to perpetual imprisonment, and is to be beaten with rods at the hours of prayer. . . .

"A child born of a heretic after the apostasy of the father, and of a Mohammedan mother, shares equally with those whose birth preceded the apostasy of the father. The child descended from a heretic father and mother, and conceived after the apostasy, is subject to the same conditions as his parents; and if he is assassinated, the murderer cannot be punished by the law of retaliation."[1]

Regarding marriage disabilities we find the following regulations laid down as present-day principles of Mohammedan law, applicable to all Moslems in British India. We quote from *Principles of Mohammedan Law*, by Faiz Badruddin Tyabji, M.A., published at Bombay, 1913:—

"Subject to Act XXI, of 1850, where either party apostatizes from Islam, the marriage becomes null and void.

"Where a marriage is made void by the apostasy of the husband, if it has been consummated, the wife is entitled to the whole of her *mahr* (dowry); if it has not been consummated, she is entitled to half of the *mahr*.

"The wife is entitled to no part of the *mahr* where the marriage becomes void by her apostasy.

"If both parties apostatize together and come back to Islam, the marriage is re-established."

The Act of 1850 referred to is given in the same Law Book, and is entitled the Caste Disabilities Removal Act (p. 30). In it the following clause was inserted to establish certain rights for apostates in India:—

"So much of any law or usage now in force within the territories subject to the government of the East India Company as inflicts on any person forfeiture of rights or property or may be held in any way to impair or affect any right of inheritance, by reason of his or her renouncing, or having been excluded from, the communion of any religion, or being deprived of caste, shall cease to be enforced as law in the Courts of the East India Company, and in the Courts established by Royal Charter within the said territories."

This provision introduced into the Law Courts of India,

[1] *Droit Musulman; Recueil de Lois concernant Les Musulmans Schyites*, by A. Querry, vol. ii, pp. 528-533. Paris: 1872.

does not yet, however, obtain in Turkey, Egypt, Syria, Palestine, Persia, Arabia, nor in any country under the old Moslem law. It is to be hoped that under the new mandatories such provision will be made as would definitely declare the abrogation of the law of apostasy above described as regards personal rights, property rights and marriage. Until these laws, characterized by a high court in the Madras Presidency as being contrary to "justice, equity, and good conscience," are removed, we cannot expect Moslems in large numbers to face the consequences of apostasy, even if they are convinced of the truth of Christianity.

In regard to the present situation and the need of urging special corrective legislation, we may quote the words of the Rev. Canon W. H. T. Gairdner. What he says in regard to Egypt may be said of Persia, Syria, and the entire Near East.

"It is submitted that to secure in Egypt the same level of elementary personal freedom which is considered a necessary minimum in civilized countries, a further modification of existing law and usage is still necessary. For example:

"(*a*) Conversions from Christianity to Mohammedanism are registered officially, and the new status of the convert is thus established. But there is no way of securing the registration and recognition of at least equally mature and considered conversions to Christianity, whose status is thus exceedingly unsatisfactory, *vis-a-vis* the Government, the law, and the public.

"(*b*) A convert, on being baptized, especially if he changes his name, as he is morally obliged to, is deprived of his patrimony, and that not only when there is a special clause in the family trust which secured the property to orthodox Mohammedans exclusively, but also where there is no such clause, i.e. where the family property is divided in the normal way. It is even doubtful whether a convert could secure the probate of a special legacy in his favour, except by virtually declaring himself a Moslem when doing so and in order to do so.

"(*c*) A woman has no power to change her faith in Egypt. If unmarried, her person can be claimed by her father or guardian; and if married, by her husband, and the British-officered police will execute the order of the Moslem court to

this effect. She then disappears from view, and every form of pressure is applied to make her actually or virtually recant, and oblige her to live an actually or virtually Mohammedan life."

The law in regard to apostasy is doubtless one of the chief factors in Moslem intolerance towards those who produce apostates, e.g. missionaries. From the time of the earliest convert to Christianity, Obeidallah Ibn Jahsh (who was also the first missionary, and of whose conversion and subsequent persecution in Abyssinia we will speak later), until the Middle Ages the record is one of constant, continued intolerance and persecution. All of Raymond Lull's converts were put to death, and he himself suffered martyrdom. These pages of mission history are wet with tears and blood.

In some missionary letters from Franciscans in the fourteenth century, found in MSS. in the library at Cambridge, we read this thrilling account :[1]

" You will know that there perished lately in the city of Trebizond Brothers Anthony of Milan, Monald of Ancona, and Ferdinand (perhaps a mistake for Francis) of Petriolo, who especially (as all the brothers bear witness) in Lent (?), and in the presence of Qadi (as the bishop or prelate is called), and of all the people giving sight to a blind man, and very often discrediting Mohommet and his law, are brought to the square or Maydan where, after sentence had been pronounced and they did not cease to preach, all cried out, ' Let all who despise our law and hold our prophets as cheap as mud be put to death.' And when they were most cruelly pricked with swords and spears, they said, ' This way of salvation is the joy of inward delight to us.' On their knees, and wounded with many blows they were at length beheaded and torn limb from limb, and their limbs were carried and hung up about the towers and walls of the city. But some of them, bought by the merchants or stolen, were brought back to us. A Saracen, too, who had pity on them tried to dissuade the butchers from so much cruelty, but he was instantly killed. And an Armenian priest who seemed friendly to the martyrs was whipped through the whole city with a [an animal's] head tied round his neck."

That was in the fourteenth century. On Feb. 12th, 1916, in

[1] *The East and West*, " Fourteenth-Century Missionary Letters," A. C. Moule, p. 357, Oct., 1921.

the same locality and according to the same principle of intolerance, similar cruelty was perpetrated (*Report of Viscount Bryce on the Armenian Atrocities*, p. 158) : " Dr. Shimmun was in the village of Spurghan when the Turks attacked the place. He was among those who took refuge on a mountain near the lake. He was captured and told that since he had been a good doctor and had helped the wounded they would not kill him, *but that he must accept the Mohammedan faith.* He refused, as about all Christians did. They poured oil on him and before applying the torch, they gave him another chance to forsake his religion. Again he refused, and they set his clothes on fire. While he was running in agony from the flames, the Turks shot him several times. After he fell to the ground unconscious, they hacked his head off. Mr. Allen, an American missionary, who went from village to village burying the victims of this butchery at Urumia, found the body of Shimmun half-eaten by dogs."

And what is the law of apostasy to-day ? The following letter has recently come from a correspondent in Constantinople :—

"A rather sad thing happened over here the other day. While Dr. Zwemer was in Smyrna (1920) he succeeded in getting a Mohammedan to stand up and confess Christ. I have forgotten what the young fellow's name is. Of course, the Turks got hold of it, and the other day an article appeared in one of the papers which was signed by this same boy, in which he stated that he had not made a confession of any kind, but on the contrary he was a stronger Mohammedan than ever. One of the Y.M.C.A. men went to call on him to find out what was the matter, and, lo and behold, he was not to be found ! A thorough investigation has been conducted, and it has been found that the poor fellow has been killed, and that this article appeared after his death. You can see that it is a rather risky thing for any Mohammedan to give up his faith, especially in public."

The spirit of Islam has not changed since the days of Omar. Then, as now, a convert to Christianity was outlawed, and ran the risk of assassination. If the law of apostasy intimidates the fearful or timid, it is also a challenge to brave men and women to heroism and sacrifice. We will see how it works.

CHAPTER III.

HOW IT WORKS.

" ' Why did you take off the white turban from your fez ? Why have you ceased being an " imam " ? ' Shemseddin replied, ' Because I am a Christian.'

" For more than an hour and a half he was questioned, and as the case went on the crowd increased. His answers were clear, distinct, gentle, unequivocal. ' You may kill me,' said he, ' you may slay me in any way you please ; you may make me a slave, but my heart is freed. I see in Islam many plants not of God's planting, and by the grace of God I want to do all I can to root them up. I see a great building, very high, very glorious, built by force, but no heart or soul in it. Some day it will fall down and destroy those who occupy it.' "

S. Ralph Harlow, in *Student Witnesses for Christ.*

CHAPTER III.

How it Works.

The law of apostasy as outlined in our last chapter is not a dead letter. It is known to all Moslems from their youth up, if not in its detail of legal penalties, yet in its power of producing an attitude bitterly hostile toward converts to Christianity. What else could such a law produce except a fanatic attitude toward all who are not Moslems? The more Mohammedan a country or a community, the more does it despise the Christian. Those who have wandered in Arabia in the tracks of C. M. Doughty recognize the picture he gives of the Arab's attitude toward the Nasrany. " 'Allah curse the Yahud and Nasara.' Some of the camelmen said, 'Thou wast safe in thine own country, thou mightest have continued there; but since thou art come into the land of the Moslemin, God has delivered thee into our hands to die—so perish all the Nasara! and be burned in hell with your father, Sheytan.' "[1]

Apostates from Islam run grave risks in Arabia. Even to this day in the coast towns, where the Moslem law is not allowed to operate, this desire to kill a convert remains, and it must be guarded against.

" 'I shall certainly shoot my brother with this revolver if I ever see him going to the Christians' Sunday afternoon service!' So declared recently the brother of one of the converts baptized in Basrah in 1920. 'Oh, please stay away from the church service, so that your brother will not carry out his threat,' the convert's mother pleaded with him. 'You say your new religion is a religion of love,' she continued; 'you will not show love if you give your brother a chance to kill you.' For her sake he stayed away some Sundays until his brother went to India. His mother finally became convinced that he was in very truth determined to remain a Christian, and her visits to him have become less frequent. Recently she said, 'It would be a feast-

[1] *Wanderings in Arabia*, by C. M. Doughty (London: Duckworth), vol. ii, p. 279.

day for me if you would only say, "Secretly, I'm a Moslem." ' He replied, 'It would be a feast-day for me if I could only hear you say, "I'm a Christian, but secretly." ' 'There's no doubt of it,' she declared, 'you are indeed a Christian.' Callers come to the hospital just to look at this convert, and to see how his change of religion has changed his appearance. Two Arabs from the interior came once while he was taking a noon-day nap. 'Where is he? Where is he?' they asked. A patient uncovered our friend's face. 'Here he is,' he said. 'But he still looks like a man!' they exclaimed. 'What did you expect to find?' they were asked, but they hastened away without answering. Children point him out to each other as they pass the hospital and see him on one of the benches, and they all curse him with expert tongues."[1]

It is a long call from the East Coast of Arabia to the University of Michigan in the United States, but the sword of Damocles that threatens and intimidates every convert hangs there, too, as by a thread. A few years ago I met an Indian Moslem student at the University, who was eager for baptism, and had a thorough knowledge of the New Testament; but, said he, "I am afraid to confess Christ publicly because of my father in the Punjab. The arm of Islam," he continued, "is long and cruel, and I do not know what might happen to me if my father heard that I had denied his faith and trampled on my long heritage as a Moslem."

From every mission field there are abundant illustrations of how this law of the apostate works to intimidate, and leads to persecution where it does not actually end in the death of the convert. Dr. R. S. McClanahan says: "Although I cannot give many instances of those who have really suffered because of this law, yet I know of one young man who became a Christian in the Delta some years ago, who, after being baptized at Alexandria and becoming an official in the postal department, has been having all kinds of difficulty placed in his way because of his being unable to prove this change which he has made. The Christians who have known him since childhood are intimidated and afraid to testify that he changed his name from Abd el Majid to Abd el Masih; and the Moslems in his village

[1] *Neglected Arabia.* Quarterly Report for 1922.

in the Delta of course will never testify to the change. The government officials, hiding behind some formality, are trying to prevent him from holding his regular standing by raising the question as to whether *Abd el Masih* is the identical *Abd el Majid* whose name appeared in certain credentials which he received for successful work during the war."

Another missionary in Egypt states, regarding a visit made some years ago to a village near Denshawi in the Menoufieh province: "I visited this village to meet with a tailor there who was reading the Scriptures, and was asking for help in solving difficulties which had arisen during his reading. It was impossible to have a private talk with him, and the visit issued in a very interesting discussion in the presence of a crowd of over thirty persons, shut up in the little tailor shop in the centre of the village; the tailor himself, at my suggestion, being the spokesman. Shortly after my visit the notorious Denshawi troubles took place, and during the confusion and disorder which ensued, and whilst the officials were engrossed in the trial, the Omdeh of the village gave the tailor a cup of coffee. He died almost immediately afterwards, and was quietly buried and forgotten. As I was leaving after the discussion at which the Omdeh had been present, he said in my hearing 'No one in this village has ever become a Christian, and I will see to it that no one ever does.' It seems to me that there can be only one inference to be drawn from this incident. This man was not a convert, but simply an enquirer. If this was done with an enquirer, what would be done when time and opportunity afforded a chance to enforce Islamic law against a convert?"

Both these incidents are comparatively recent; and the spirit of Islam has not changed, although there has been much shouting for liberty, freedom and independence. The pastors of the evangelical churches are themselves intimidated by threats when they baptize Moslem converts in Egypt.

"At the winter meeting of the Assiout Presbytery, February 1922," writes W. T. Fairman, "the pastor of Sanabo presented a request from a man called Mohammed F——— for baptism for himself and his little daughter. The pastor said that in his opinion this man was a true believer. He had been attending

church for some four years and had asked for baptism several times, but had always been put off. Presbytery appointed a committee of two, the pastor and myself, to examine this man, and advise what action should be taken. Although he was an unlettered man, I found that he was well grounded in the doctrines of Christianity, and in no uncertain tones could speak of a real spiritual experience. The pastor gave him a very good character, and said he had no doubts concerning him. We reported to Presbytery that in our opinion this was an undoubted convert, and advised his baptism. At the close of that session he and his little daughter were baptized. The man was a widower, and the daughter was placed in the orphanage at Assiout by her father and the pastor. Presbytery then dismissed, and the man went away. He wrote to his relatives at Sanabo, informing them of what he had done, and telling them it was of no use for them to say anything ; he had made up his mind, had acted, and it was irrevocable. If they wished to see him, they could visit him at Mallawi. They went to Mallawi, but he had gone and no one knew where. They immediately went to the pastor and threatened to beat him to death if he did not disclose the man's whereabouts. The pastor said he could not do so ; then the relatives of the convert insisted on his going with them to the orphanage and asking for the girl. He first denied any knowledge of her whereabouts, but finally went with them, and the girl was handed over. They then said, 'Since you knew where the girl was you must know where the man is.' And although they threatened to kill him if he did not tell, he insisted that he did not know, and said that he had no further responsibility as the man was of full age, and not a child. But he was so alarmed that he left the town and the church, taking his wife and family with him. Finally the convert was found by the authorities and arrested at Deirout ; but when he was confronted by the relatives and the Kadi, he stood firm and refused to recant. What has happened since then, I do not know. The pastor on my advice returned to his church and is still there."

The following instances of persecution are found in the reports of the Egypt General Mission (1903-1922) : "A father saw his son reading the Bible, and taking it from him consigned it to

the flames, and attempted to fatally injure the boy by throwing him over the balusters. Later the lad received a second copy of the Word of God ; and a tract which for weeks he carried hidden in his pocket. When the father finally chanced to see it, he gave the boy a cruelly severe beating, and continued his ill-treatment until his son was forced to leave home." Of another convert we read that he was beaten daily with a native whip, and only those who have seen them know what they are like. Since he remained obdurate, burning pieces of wood were brought and placed red hot on his body to force him to recant, but it was all of no avail. He said, " Kill me, and I will go straight to be with Jesus." Some of his companions suffered in a similar way. In one case the father decided to kill his son, so he poured paraffin oil all over him, and was just going to light it when an uncle came in and pleaded for the life of the son. The father listened to the appeal, and banished his son from his house and home for ever.

In 1912 a storm of persecution arose against A. T———. His clothes were taken away, his Bible burnt. His father attempted to poison him. His uncle shot him, the bullet entering his leg. His father told him to make his choice between his fortune (some £2,000) and his faith, and with the chief men of the village actually entered his private apartments in the house (his harem, or wife's rooms), a terrible insult in Islam, to search for incriminating papers. Twice attempts were made to poison him ; twice they attempted by bribes and threats to make his wife unfaithful to him. The whole story of this man is one of loneliness, poverty and contempt, cheerfully borne for Christ.

In 1923 a young man in one of the villages of the Delta accepted Christ and secured work as a cook. "At home his Testament was burned, and his brothers made it very unpleasant for him ; but that was as nothing compared to the storm which broke over him when, after due preparation, he decided to go forward and openly confess Christ in baptism. Relatives from far and near gathered at his home, threatening and cursing him : a cousin, who had been in jail, said that even if he hid in a fortress of brass he would get him out and kill him. Under the threats and hatred the young man's courage failed,

and he promised not to be baptized then. Three times he has now come to the point of being baptized, and through fear has withdrawn each time. His brothers, who have often heard the Gospel, are dead against him—his own mother, who really loves him, would rather see him dead than baptized."[1]

If this is the condition of affairs in Egypt to-day we cannot expect greater liberty in Turkey. Our correspondents write of converts who were imprisoned and after their imprisonment utterly disappeared. This was the fate of twenty men and women from the Cesarea district some few years ago. "The attitude at present instead of being more tolerant is more strict and merciless. The Nationalist Government is composed for the most part of men who are not religious at all. They are using Islam as a means to accomplish the ends being pursued by the Pan-Islamic movement. In the territories under the Greek and Allied occupation there has been an unusual freedom during the last three years, but in Anatolia this period has already closed, and it will probably be closed in Constantinople very soon, and the law against apostasy will be rigidly enforced. How long this state of things may continue, no one can say. It may not last very long. Many believe the attempt will be made to punish with death any Moselm who should become a Christian."

President C. F. Gates, of Robert College, writes: "I have known instances of converts who suffered because of the fanaticism of their co-religionists. For example, while I was in Mardin, a Moslem became a Christian and was sent to Mecca. He was there kept in confinement, but one evening he stepped out of doors and was shot. In Smyrna a Moslem became a Christian, and two years later was stabbed. One of my former students became a Christian and was tracked down as he was about to take a steamer to leave the country, and sent back under guard expecting a sentence of death. He, however, managed to escape, and is still alive. It is a well-known fact

[1] Miss M. Cay, of Shubra Zanga, Egypt, also calls attention to the fact that, although the law regarding apostates cannot be legally enforced in Egypt, the people in the country villages are chiefly afraid of their own relatives and neighbours, who apply the law indirectly; for, as a matter of fact, "they generally accuse the convert falsely of something that has no apparent connection with religion, in the hope of getting him severely punished under the criminal code."

that converts to Christianity from Islam are liable to be killed, not by judicial condemnation and execution, but by secret assassination or by mob violence."

The Rev. S. Ralph Harlow, in his *Student Witnesses for Christ*, tells the story of Shemseddin, who was a convert at the college near Smyrna, and who suffered grave persecution. "In the life of our campus Shemseddin's influence was wonderful. His conversion marked a turning-point in the spiritual life of the college, and Greek and Armenian boys who bore the name of Christian, but to whom Christianity had been of little real value as an influence in their lives, now stopped to inquire as to the hidden power of their own faith.

"Shemseddin was the first student in the college to sign the Student Volunteer declaration. For two years he continued thus to bear witness to Christ as Lord. His daily words and acts were indeed a Gospel written in flesh and blood.

"And now (1921) from across the water comes this word: that outside the walls of Smyrna his body has been found, stabbed in many places. Just how he died, who killed him, those in Smyrna have never been able to determine. But one thing we do know, that only his earthly body was struck by the knives of the murderers, and that his spirit, clad in the armour of God, went to meet his Captain face to face."

Under British rule in Nigeria no death sentence can be passed on any convert from Islam, but some years ago this was not the case. "In Kano," says Dr. Walter R. Miller, "about twenty years before our advent a Mullah who had been to Mecca heard the Gospel while passing through Egypt; and, although only feebly understanding it, had apparently been impressed by the grandeur of the personality of Christ. He returned to Kano and preached what he knew. He was then tortured and died, refusing to give up what he believed. Nearly thirty years later, as a direct sequence of this, many of his disciples who had fled came under the sound of the Gospel. To make a long story short, a little Christian village was started here, a community of over one hundred and thirty souls lived under Christian law and teaching, and many were baptized. Sleeping sickness has, during the last four years, nearly annihilated this little community. I cannot say that there is

any change of attitude on the part of Moslems here. I believe, nay I have proof, that were the British power removed, every Christian would be executed at once. It is an anomaly that the British government prevents a Christian inheriting from his Moslem father, even though the latter and his son have continued to live in most friendly relations."

We are told that conditions in Persia have changed radically in the last twenty years. The constitution has resulted in more liberty of thought and action. The police department now handles many matters which the Mullahs formerly attended to, and safeguards converts from mob violence and the fanaticism of individual ecclesiastics. The fact that converts are under the wing of foreign missionaries often makes the multitude fear to touch them, as they suppose such apostates receive some sort of political protection from them.

A few years ago conditions were different. All of the early converts faced persecution, and some were put to death.

From this land comes the story of Mirza Paulos, a Mohammedan priest, who was converted to Christianity. After his conversion he was subjected by the Moslem ecclesiastics to all sorts of indignities and punishments. "At last, finding that not chains nor torture could move him, he was cast into the streets almost naked and told to be gone, and on pain of death never to go near the missionaries again. Paulos went straight to the man who had baptized him and said, bruised and torn as he was, 'Sahib, I have *thought* that I was one of Christ's sheep but, now that He has counted me worthy to thus suffer for Him, I *know* I am.' Bearing the marks of the Lord Jesus on his body, despoiled of all his worldly goods for the sake of his faith, despised as an outcast by his race, Paulos tried in different ways to earn his daily bread. His children began to sell fruit on the streets, but, being recognized, their fruit was considered polluted by the touch of a Christian's child. Finally, with wife and children, Paulos forsook the city which had always been his home, in which he had been respected and honoured; and, after some months, arrived in Teheran, where for five years he lived—sometimes in distress and need, sometimes in persecution, always in poverty: but never once thinking of return to the faith which would reward him with

ذود رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم فبلغ ذلك النبي صلى الله عليه وسلم فبعث في أثرهم فأتي بهم فقطع أيديهم وأرجلهم وسمل أعينهم وتركهم في الحرة حتى ماتوا و حدثنا أبو جعفر محمد بن الصباح وأبو بكر بن أبي شيبة واللفظ لابي بكر قال ثنا ابن علية عن حجاج بن أبي عثمان ثني أبو رجاء مولى أبي قلابة عن أبي قلابة ثني أنس أن نفرا من عكل ثمانية قدموا على رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم فبايعوه على الاسلام فاستوخموا الارض وسقمت أجسامهم فشكوا ذلك الى رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم فقال ألا تخرجون مع راعينا في ابله فتصيبون من أبوالها وألبانها فقالوا بلى فخرجوا فشربوا من أبوالها وألبانها فصحوا فقتلوا الراعي وطردوا الابل فبلغ ذلك رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم فبعث في آثارهم فأدركوا فجيء بهم فأمر بهم فقطعت أيديهم وأرجلهم وسمل أعينهم ثم نبذوا في الشمس حتى ماتوا وقال ابن الصباح في روايته وأطردوا النعم وقال وسمرت أعينهم و حدثنا هرون ابن عبد الله قال ثنا سليمان بن حرب قال ثنا حماد بن زيد عن أيوب عن أبي رجاء مولى أبي قلابة قال قال أبو قلابة ثنا أنس بن مالك قال قدم على رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم قوم من عكل أو عرينة فاجتووا المدينة فأمرهم رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم بلقاح وأمرهم أن يشربوا من أبوالها وألبانها يعني حديث حجاج بن أبي عثمان قال وسمرت أعينهم والقوا في الحرة يستسقون فلا يسقون و حدثنا محمد بن مثنى قال ثنا معاذ بن معاذ ح وثنا أحمد بن عثمان النوفلي ثنا أزهر السمان قالا ثنا ابن عون ثنا أبو رجاء مولى أبي قلابة عن أبي قلابة قال كنت جالسا خلف عمر بن عبد العزيز فقال للناس ما تقولون في القسامة فقال عنبسة قد ثنا أنس بن مالك كذا وكذا فقلت اياي حدث أنس قدم على النبي صلى الله عليه وسلم قوم وساق الحديث بنحو حديث أيوب وحجاج قال أبو قلابة فلما فرغت قال عنبسة سبحان الله قال أبو قلابة فقلت أتنهمني يا عنبسة قال لا هكذا حدثنا أنس ابن مالك لن تزالوا بخير يا أهل الشام مادام فيكم هذا أو مثل هذا و حدثنا الحسن بن أبي شعيب الحراني ثنا مسكين وهو ابن بكير الحراني أخبرنا الاوزاعي ح وثنا عبد الله بن عبد الرحمن الدارمي أخبرنا محمد بن يوسف عن الاوزاعي عن يحيى بن أبي كثير عن أبي قلابة عن أنس بن مالك قال قدم على رسول الله صلى الله عليه وسلم ثمانية نفر من عكل بنحو حديثهم وزاد في الحديث ولم يحسمهم

FACSIMILE OF THE TEXT IN THE STANDARD COLLECTION OF TRADITIONS BY MUSLIM; telling how Mohammed tortured the earliest Apostates.

This is Page Thirty-four from Volume Two, Chapter on the Apostate: Muslim, Cairo Edition.

position and comparative wealth. He seldom referred to what he endured, but said: 'I do not like to speak of these things as suffering. Compared with the sufferings of my Lord they are nothing. I cease not to praise and thank Him that He has made known His salvation to me.'"[1]

From North Africa word comes that although persecution according to the law of apostasy does not exist openly, all those who turn from Islam to Christ suffer from their relatives such nagging or bullying or coaxing that one often sees "a look of dumb agony over the severance of family ties."

One correspondent goes on to say: "We feel that the danger that they run here is of a worse order. All around them is the risk of brain drugs and spells and hypnotism, and we have come to the conclusion that a large proportion of the seeming backsliding of converts may be traced to these combined influences; for I cannot but think that the spells (i.e. definite Satanic influences invoked and brought to bear) have their part in the havoc wrought. As regards the physical side of the attempts; we think, from comparing notes on symptoms with a missionary from India, that *datura* is largely used for drugging. Whatever the drug may be, it is well known in their domestic intrigues, and can be administered unnoticed in food or drink. It seems to excite the emotions and paralyses the will power. According to the description that we have had from one poor soul after another, a great darkness comes down over their spirits, and lasts for several months before it wears away, and they feel meantime that they cannot come near us or have anything to do with us.

"We have just now a girl convert in one of our stations who walked faithfully with Christ for years, but fell last spring under the power of a sorcerer woman who was, we believe, sent by the girl's elder brother to live in the house on purpose to turn her from us; and suddenly she would have nothing to do with us. 'She knows all my thoughts to the bottom of my heart, and I have to do as she tells me'—that was her explanation for refusing all intercourse. In answer to prayer the woman was got out of the house, but the cloud on the girl's spirit is only now beginning to lift. Another story comes to mind

[1] S. M. Jordan, in *The Indian Witness*, Nov. 8th, 1906.

that may seem to some incredible, but it was told me by the missionary concerned, who fought and died in the ranks of the North Africa Mission with a passion for souls that few have shared. One of the converts in her solitary station was a young fellow of good family. All went well with him for a time, then suddenly he left off coming to the Mission House, and all touch was lost except round by heaven. The winter came, and the workers were clearing out the fireplace when they caught sight of this man's name on a bit of paper. They smoothed it out and deciphered it. It proved to be a charm written to prevent his setting foot in the house or having anything to do with the missionaries. They prayed in the Name of Jesus that the evil spell might be broken, and burned the paper. Within an hour the convert was back in that room, bowed in broken-hearted confession to God of his backsliding. Later on he told the missionary that he knew he had been drugged, and that he had shrunk with a shrinking that amounted to hatred from the thought of going near them."

These remarkable experiences are paralleled by similar experiences in East Arabia, where drugs and sorcery are often used to influence those who are turning away from Islam.

Dr. F. Harper writes that in such cases the chief mischief in Egypt is done by a drug called *manzoul*, which contains mostly Indian hemp (*Canabis Indica*). *Datura* has an astringent action, and is used for the same purpose—to increase sexual passion.

Dr. Henry H. Jessup, in giving an account of fifty-three years spent as a missionary in Syria, states that he baptized no fewer than thirty Moslems, and had knowledge of between forty and fifty converts; but the great majority had to flee the country for fear of persecution.

"A Moslem convert, Naamet Ullah, who was converted in 1895, came to Beirut in the spring. He was arrested, thrown into the army, and wrote me a letter from the military barracks. He was taken with his regiment to Hauran, where he deserted, reappeared in Beirut, thence to Tripoli, where he took ship to Egypt, and disappeared from view." [1]

"In June, 1900, two men with their wives, converts from

[1] *Fifty-three Years in Syria*, by Henry H. Jessup, vol. ii, p. 635.

Islam, passed through here, *en route* for Egypt. They were brought to accept Christ through their godly Protestant neighbours in an interior city, and, after long probation, were received as brethren. We obtained passage for them on a steamer bound for Alexandria, and they went to their new home in Egypt, where they engaged at once in self-supporting work and gave great satisfaction by their sincerity and steadfastness. The old mother of one of the women insisted on coming with them to Beirut, and after they sailed returned to Damascus. In order to relieve the minds of the brethren who sent them on to us, and who feared they might be prevented from sailing, I wrote a letter to one of them as follows: 'The goods you forwarded to us came safely, and we shipped them to Egypt by the Khedivial steamer, June 30th, to our business agent. The large bale, which was found too old for shipment, we returned to the Damascus agent to be forwarded to you. We have hopes of great profit from the portion sent to Egypt.' "

The reason for writing in this commercial style was that an Arabic letter giving the literal facts might have been read by the postal police, and might have brought some of the parties concerned into trouble.[1]

Mrs. V. H. Starr of Peshawar tells of a Moslem convert, a lad of eighteen, who laid down his life for Christ. He belonged to the wild Afghan tribe of the Afridis, and came to the hospital for treatment. He remained as a servant, and soon asked to become a Christian. His father and brother came down on business in 1914. They were glad to see their boy again, and to find him earning regular wages. As they appeared friendly, no alarm was felt. Soon after the father asked permission to have his boy visit him. He was given a day off; and, dressed in his best, and with a happy smile, departed. Evening came and he did not return. No trace of the lad was found. Afterwards the truth came to light. He had been enticed from the hospital, and reproached with the disgrace brought on the family because he had turned Christian. There was but one alternative, either the new faith must be given up, or his life. Details are unknown, but the fact is certain that this Afridi lad was stoned to death by his own father, because for him

[1] Ibid., vol. ii, pp. 691-692.

there was no alternative. Perhaps for this little Stephen of the twentieth century the heavens also opened and he saw the glory of God and Jesus.[1]

Even in Java, where the number of converts from Islam connected with the various Dutch missions is nearly thirty thousand, the spirit of persecution still exists; and many a convert finds that a man's foes are those of his own household. In *Het Zendings Blad* of the Reformed Church (October 1923) we find a translation of a pathetic letter written by a Javanese girl to her companions, from which we translate these paragraphs: "You know that my brother, Joseph, has been driven away from home, and that your poor sister is all alone. I must tell you what happened to me on Thursday, May 31st, at two o'clock. My father called me, and began to talk as usual against the Christian religion. Our conversation will not interest you; but when I began to cry, my father and also my mother began to beat me. They dragged me to a room in the rear of our house, and the more I cried the more angry they became. Father struck me with his sandals on my head and on my back, while both my father and my mother seized me fast when I tried to escape. Then my mother took away my bracelets because I pronounced the name of Christ.

"What do you suppose my father said to me? He turned to my mother, and exclaimed, 'Let us kill her; one daughter more or less does not matter.' Again I tried to escape, but I was locked in a small room. When my father said, 'Let us kill her,' it was no mere expression of his lips—he intended to do so, beating my head against the hard walls and trying to choke me. Then I began to pray, and mother said, 'Look! Look! She is praying again.' Then my father struck me on my face with his sandals; and they left me. I remembered the story of Paul in the dungeon—how, after his beating, he sang praise to God; and I was filled with a great longing to sing. So I sang softly, so that no one might hear me, 'We praise Thee, Thee alone!'

"At six o'clock I heard my mother approach, and I said to her, 'Let me out!' At seven o'clock father came, but it was only to torture me with all kinds of questions—difficult

[1] Mrs. V. H. Starr, in *The Moslem World*, vol. xi, p. 80.

questions—which I could not answer. After describing other punishments which she received, and the pain she felt in her body, the letter goes on to say, 'After I had been crying for an hour, mother opened the door, and told me to come and eat; while my father threatened to beat me if I attempted to escape. Mother asked me if I would now cease to confess my faith in the Christian teaching, but I did not dare to promise because my deepest desire is to remain a Christian. They have taken away my Bibles and my books, and I envy Joseph, my brother, because he has only been driven away from home.'" This took place in Central Java, in connection with one of the Christian day schools for Moslem children.

One of the outstanding converts in Egypt was Makhail Mansur. Some thirty years ago he completed his twelve years' course in the Azhar University, and although scarcely twenty years of age, had already attained the rank of a Sheikh. A brilliant student, he was master of the Arabic language and literature, but had never been in contact with Christianity. One day he chanced upon a single verse of Scripture quoted in an attack on Christianity, that gripped him irresistibly—"And this is eternal life, that they should know thee, the only true God, and Jesus Christ whom thou hast sent." Learning that these words were quoted from the Gospel by John, he was eager to obtain a copy of the book. With a Bible hidden under his flowing robes he went home and began to read. In telling of this incident afterwards, he said that he never stopped reading all the night. The words of the book burned like fire in his soul. He wrestled with doubts and fears and worked his way through theological problems. Like Saul of Tarsus he saw all his past life and all his prospects in ruins if he became a Christian. But the decision was made, and then he sought baptism. Fearing to confess his faith in his native town, and because of delay and misunderstanding, he eventually went to a Roman Catholic church in another town, and was there baptized. For some years he remained with that church, teaching in their schools. He was taken to Rome and introduced to Pope Leo XIII. But this journey, instead of impressing him with the greatness of Rome, showed him her weakness. He returned to the

Evangelical church after coming back to Egypt, and remained a faithful member of that church as long as he lived. At first he was employed as a teacher, but he soon began to exercise his marvellous power of oratory, and for many years held meetings for religious discussion. These meetings increased in size, until no mission building was large enough to hold the crowds, almost wholly composed of Moselms and many of them students from the Azhar. For eighteen years he continued these meetings in Cairo twice a week. The timidity of the early days completely left him. His Christian friends sometimes feared for his safety, but he himself seemed not to know what fear was. He persisted in regarding all as his friends. Occasionally he received a threatening letter. And once he held up such a letter in his meeting before a dense crowd, and opening his coat, said, " If anyone wishes to shoot, I am ready, but I shall continue, by the grace of God, to preach Christ's Gospel." He was a man of striking personality, a quick sense of humour and a rare friendliness of manner. He died in 1918. How many were definitely won through his ministry it is not easy to say, but one of them was his own brother, who shares a measure of his gifts and is at present continuing his ministry. Both brothers are an illustration of the fact that boldness to confess Christ is the part of wisdom even when dealing with fanatic Moslems in such a city as Cairo.

Aden and its hinterland have so long been under British rule (since 1837) that one would expect the law against apostates had lost its power, but the spirit of Islam dies hard. " Sheikh Salem, a convert, did undoubtedly suffer from this law," writes Dr. J. C. Young. " When he was up in Dhala with Captain Warneford, as his Arabic secretary, the Arabs there held a meeting in the mosque. It was openly declared that he ought to be put to death, and he was warned that his life was in danger ; so he returned to Aden, where he was safe, except from the sudden stab of some frenzied fanatic, of which I am glad to say there were none in Aden at the time. Although, only a few weeks ago a large stone was thrown at a youth who was sitting on the seashore speaking to the Rev. C. J. Rasmussen and two of the Danish ladies. This lad, years ago when only a boy of twelve, had been attracted by Sheikh

Salem's message in our hospital; and on his return to Aden after the war he told the Danish missionary lady who was dressing his foot that he had heard the story of the Gospel years before and had never lost the impression made upon him by the message."

In Palestine before the war, conditions were such that Bishop Ridley, who visited the Mission in 1908, said "Baptism of Moslems is not unknown in Palestine, though the converts are relatively few. In some cases they have been sent to Egypt for safety. The baptism of a convert under the Turk is a signal for imprisonment, and probably his martyrdom will follow. Despite treaties, freedom of conscience is not tolerated. . . . Not long since a sheikh entered a mission school, dragged out one of the pupils and beat her almost to death. Among those who found Christ in the Jaffa Hospital was an Afghan, but he was shot at afterwards by a Moslem, whom he declined to prosecute, and he was brought back to the hospital, where he was baptized at his own request before he died." [1]

Although the number of converts in India has been considerable the difficulties they meet, even there, are great. What Sir G. K. Scott-Moncrieff wrote in his valuable book, *Eastern Missions from a Soldier's Standpoint*, in 1907, is still largely true in some parts of India. "Of course the law of the land gives, as far as it can do so, religious liberty, and no one can be punished in a court of justice on the plea of conversion to another faith. But let a man once pass the line which divides respect for the religion of the ruling race from acceptance of its teaching, and he will then find all the power of bigotry and persecution directed against him in every possible way. I know of two cases where Christian subordinates in the Public Works, both converts from Islam, were the victims of cleverly concocted conspiracies, got up by their former co-religionists, with evidence so skilfully 'cooked' as to be on the face of it incontrovertible, and yet to one who knew the men incredible. Both conspiracies were successful in achieving the ruin of the victims. I have known the case of a young chief, about to be baptized, who was kidnapped,

[1] *History of the Church Missionary Society*, by Eugene Stock (London, 1916), vol. iv, p. 127.

stripped and beaten, after bribes had been found useless; and a young Mohammedan friend of mine, who was as fully persuaded of the truth of the Gospel as ever a man could be, implored me to take him to England, there to be baptized, for he said that life in his country would be an impossibility." [1]

Along the northern border of India Moslem fanaticism is more intense. "At Mardan," wrote Dr. Marie K. T. Holst, "a mullah's daughter came to the hospital to seek advice about her eyes. While in the hospital she was at first very much opposed to the teaching, then slowly became interested, and one Sunday afternoon, when Bartimeus was the subject of the lesson in the ward, she finally decided for Christ. How marvellously God took possession of that young girl, gave her strength to leave all and confess Jesus in baptism, and how later, when threatened with death in her own home across the border, she confessed Christ without flinching, refusing to repeat the Kalima, and finally through a Mohammedan woman was helped to escape, might fill an interesting chapter in a future book. 'Was it very hard?' the missionary asked, on her return from furlough. 'Yes, at first. I was so lonely. Then flashed through my mind the text you gave me before you left: Be thou faithful unto death and I will give thee a crown of life.'"

The story of Abdul Karim, an Afghan who found Christ in the C.M.S. Hospital at Quetta, and afterwards joined Dr. T. L. Pennell at Bannu, is radiant with the glory of the martyrs. An apostate from Islam, but an Apostle of Christ!

"In the summer of 1907 Abdul Karim was taken with an intense desire to enter Afghanistan, and preach the Gospel there. He crossed over the frontier at Chaman, and was seized by some Afghan soldiers. These finally brought him before the Governor of Kandahar. He was offered rewards and honours if he would recant and accept Mohammedanism, and, when he refused, he was cast into prison loaded with eighty pounds of chains. He was examined by H.M. the Amir and the Amir's brother, Nasirullah; but remained firm in his confession of Christianity.

"Finally, he was marched off to Kabul under very painful

[1] Ibid., vol. iv, pp. 154-155.

conditions. As far as could be gathered from reports that filtered down to India, he had to walk loaded with chains and with a bit and bridle in his mouth from Kandahar to Kabul, while any Mohammedan who met him on the way was to smite him on the cheek and pull a hair from his beard. After reaching Kabul, it was reported that he died in prison there; but another report, which purported to be that of an eye-witness, and seemed worthy of credence, related that he had been set at liberty in Kabul, and had set out alone for India.

"On the way the people in a village where he was resting found out who he was—probably one of them had heard him preaching in India—and they carried him off to their mosque to force him to repeat the Mohammedan *Kalimah*, 'There is no God but God, and Mohammed is the Prophet of God.' This is the accepted formula of accepting Islam, and if a convert can be persuaded to say this publicly, it is regarded as his recantation.

"Abdul Karim refused. A sword was then produced, and his right arm cut off, and he was again ordered to repeat it, but again refused. The left arm was then severed in the same way, and, on his refusing the third time his throat was cut. There is no doubt that, whatever the details of his martyrdom may be, Abdul Karim witnessed faithfully up to the last for his Saviour Christ, and died because he would not deny Him."[1]

The catalogue of tortures endured because of faith in God, given in the eleventh chapter of the epistle to the Hebrews, could be paralleled in the lives of those who have suffered for Christ because they were apostates from Islam. Every one who makes the choice faces the possibilities of loneliness, disinheritance, persecution and even death. We are reminded of the story told in the life of Cardinal Lavigerie. One reads how when he founded the White Fathers, that wonderful missionary society which has had so glorious a part in the work for the conversion of Africa, young men from all over Europe came to Algiers to beg for admission. They had heard the call to Africa, with its burning climate, its deserts and its mysteries, its cruel negroes and its fanatical mussulmans, and, as *soldats*

[1] *Among the Wild Tribes of the Afghan Frontier*, by T. L. Pennell (London, 1909), pp. 293-294. This whole story must be compared with that given in Chapter II regarding the treatment of the *earliest* apostates in Islam. The Afghans were doubtless familiar with such Traditions.

d'elite, were ready to start for the post of danger. On the papers of one young priest when he presented them, the Archbishop, in place of the usual formula, wrote: *Visum pro martyrio*, "Passed for martyrdom." "Read, do you accept that?" he said, returning them. "I came for that," replied the priest simply.

CHAPTER IV.

CENTURIES OF INTOLERANCE AND PERSECUTION.

"Mohammed did not merely preach toleration; he embodied it into a law. To all conquered nations he offered liberty of worship. A nominal tribute was the only compensation they were required to pay for the observance and enjoyment of their faith. Once the tax or tribute was agreed upon, every interference with their religion or the liberty of conscience was regarded as a direct contravention of the laws of Islam. Could so much be said of other creeds? Proselytism by the sword was wholly contrary to the instincts of Mohammed."

SEYID AMEER ALI, in *The Spirit of Islam*, p. 175.

"Das Mittel dessen sich Muhammed bediente um die Herzen zu gewinnen und seiner Lehre Eingang zu verschaffen war in letzter Instanz die aussere Gewalt. Fur ihn war die Ausbreitung des Glaubens wesentlich identisch mit den Kampf gegen die Ungläubigen. Muhammed war Prophet und Despot in einer Person."

OTTO PAUTZ, *Mohammeds Lehre der Offenbarung*, p. 283.

CHAPTER IV.

Centuries of Intolerance and Persecution.

The incidents recorded in the previous chapter show how the law of apostasy works in the present day. It is but the natural outcome—the outgrowth of centuries of intolerance toward those who leave the fold of Islam. The earliest apostates, some of whom were converts to Christianity and suffered for their apostasy, were contemporaries of the Prophet Mohammed himself. Their story is preserved for us in two of the earliest records, namely: *The Life of the Prophet*, by Ibn Hisham (died A.D. 834), and the story of *Moslem Conquest*, by Al Baladhuri (died A.D. 892). In the latter volume we read of one, "abu-'Amir, who fled from the face of Allah and his Prophet to Makkah and thence to Syria where he was converted to Christianity. Hence the text revealed by Allah: 'There are some who have built a mosque for mischief and for infidelity and to disunite the "Believers," and in expectation of him who, in time past, warred against Allah and his Messenger.'"[1]

Another interesting account is that given of Mikyas ibn-Subabah: "Numailah ibn-Abdallah al-Kinani killed Mikyas ibn-Subaba-al-Kinani, the Prophet having announced that whosoever finds him may kill him. The Prophet did this for the following reason: Mikyas had a brother, Hashim ibn-Subabah ibn-Hazm, who embraced Islam and witnessed with the Prophet the invasion made on al-Muraisi. Hashim was mistaken by one of the *Ansar* for a 'polytheist' and killed. Mikyas thereupon came to the Prophet and the Prophet decreed that the relatives of the slayer responsible for the bloodwit should pay it. Mikyas received the bloodwit and became Moslem. Later he attacked his brother's slayer, slew him, and

[1] *Futuh Al-Buldan*, by Al-Baladhuri, translated by Hitti (New York, 1916), p. 16. On the death of Mohammed many of the Arabs, even in Mecca, apostatized from Islam. On these also the death penalty was mercilessly enforced. Cf. *Ibn Hisham*, vol. iii, p. 104 (Cairo edition).

took to flight, after which he apostatized from Islam, and said :

' My soul has been healed by having him lie,
deep in the blood flowing from his veins his clothes soaked,
I took revenge on him by force, leaving it,
for the leaders of banu-an-Najjar, the high in rank, to pay his bloodwit,
Thereby I attained my ambition, and satisfied my ven-vengeance,
and I was the first to forsake Islam." [1]

But he was not the first to forsake Islam. The earliest convert from Islam to Christianity, and therefore the first apostate, was Obeidallah Ibn Jahsh, who accompanied those that fled from Mecca and went to Abyssinia (*Ibn Hisham*, vol. i, pp. 76 and 111). The account given by Ibn Hisham, as taken from Ibn Ishak, is fragmentary, but one can read between the lines how important was the early influence of Christianity on Islam, and how Moslems themselves dared to record that the light of Christianity was greater than the light from the new religion : " In regard to Obeidallah Ibn-Jahsh, however, he remained in uncertainty until he became a Moslem ; then he fled with the Moslems to Abyssinia, taking with him his wife, Um Habiba bint Abu Sufyan, and she was a Moslem. But after he married her he became a Christian and left Islam, so that finally he perished there, a Christian. Ibn Ishak says that Mohammed Ibn Jafar told him : ' Obeidallah Ibn Jahsh when he became a Christian used to pass by the companions of the Prophet (upon him be prayers and peace) while they were together in Abyssinia, and say to them, We can see clearly, but you are still blinking ; that is, we have correct vision and you are groping for sight, and do not yet see clearly. The word he used is applied to a puppy, which blinks when it desires to open its eyes to see things. The other word he uses means to see very clearly.' Ibn Ishak goes on to say that the ' Apostle of God (upon him be prayers and peace) inherited the wife of Obeidallah Ibn Jahsh, Um Habiba ibn Ali Sufyan ibn Harb, and paid 400 dinars dowry for her.' " [2]

[1] *Futuh Al-Buldan*, by Al-Baladhuri, translated by Hitti (New York, 1916), p. 67.

[2] *Moslem World*, vol. iii, pp. 328-329, quoted from *Ibn Hisham*, vol. i, p. 76.

According to Caetani, Mohammed had advised the emigration to Abyssinia, not to save his people from corporal violence or torture, but because he feared they would yield to pressure and insinuations, and forswear the faith of Islam. Consequently, as only a part of the Moslems were going to Abyssinia, we must infer that Mohammed estranged himself from the disciples whom he did not trust, and from those who would have remained in the fatherland if they had not been disposed to yield to the pressure and reasoning of the Quraish. Hence their escape to Abyssinia was attributed to weakness, and not to abnegation and courage. The later return of the emigrants to Arabia, therefore, confirmed the fact that Mohammed had not been successful: that nearly every emigrant had been converted to Christianity during the long stay in Abyssinia.

Caetani gives the list of names of these emigrants, and goes on to say that these men were of a more elevated spirit than their kinsmen; and animated with a nobler and more sincere religious feeling, could not content themselves with the Quraish's clumsy worship of idolatry, and aspired to find a religion that would better satisfy their conception of the spiritual world. "Do you know," they said to one another, "that your folk do not follow the true faith, and that they have falsified the religion of your forefather Abraham? How can we reverence a stone that does not see nor hear, that can be of no benefit, nor do any harm? Find another faith, because yours is worthless. According to tradition, such were the opinions these men were exchanging among themselves; and since they were all animated by the same desire to discover the real faith, they decided to unite all their efforts to introduce the religion which, through ignorance, had been blotted out by their ancestors. These men subsequently repelled idolatry and abstained from eating the meat of animals that had been killed under the pagan sacrifices. Afterwards they scattered all over the world in search of al-Hanifiyyah (the religion of Abraham). *Ibn Hisham*, p. 143; *Al Halabi*, vol. i, pp. 169-170.

Although Caetani criticizes the traditions regarding the so-called persecution in Mecca, and denies that there were *two* emigrations to Abyssinia, he admits the historicity of these early accounts, especially that of Obeidallah Ibn Jahsh.[1]

[1] *Annali dell' Islam*, by Caetani; Introduction, sections 180, 271, 277; vol. i, A. H. 7, sections 53, 55, 58, etc.

Not only were there apostates from Islam to Christianity in Abyssinia, but many of the Arabs themselves turned back to their old idolatry after Mohammed's death, and were treated as apostates. War was declared against them to the knife. In Oman many of them were butchered. "Certain women at an-Nujair having rejoiced at the death of the Prophet, abu-Bakr wrote ordering that their hands and feet be cut off. Among these women were ath-Thabja al-Hadramiyah, and Hind, daughter of Yamina, the Jewess."[1] Only by submitting and paying tribute did any of them save their lives. When the Arabs of Bahrain apostatized under the leadership of Al-Hutam, war was made upon them; and one of the Moslem poets celebrated the victory and the death of Al-Hutam as follows:[2]

"We left Shuraih with the blood covering him
like the fringe of a spotted Yamanite garment.
It was we that deprived Um-Ghadban of her son,
and broke our lance in Habtar's eye.
It was we that left Misma' prostrate on the ground,
at the mercy of hyenas and eagles that will attack him."

The spirit in which the conversion of the neighbouring countries was undertaken is clearly shown in the following lines, ascribed to ʿAli ibn Abi Talib:—

'Our flowers are the sword and dagger:
Narcissus and myrtle are nought.
Our drink is the blood of our foeman;
Our goblet his skull, when we've fought.'[3]

This is in accord with the teaching of the Koran, as far as putting opponents to death is concerned, for in Surah v. 27 it is written: "Verily the recompense of those who wage war against God and His Apostle and run after evil in the land is that they be slain or crucified, or that their hands and their feet be cut off on opposite sides, or that they be banished from the land."[4]

Although it is true that the Islamic ideal of the brotherhood

[1] *Al-Baladhuri*, p. 155.
[2] Ibid. p. 128.
[3] As-saifu wa'l khanjar rîhanuna
'Ufun 'ala 'l narjis wa'l as
Dam 'adauna shurabuna
Wa jumjumat ras al kas.
[4] Cf. *The Mîzânu 'l Haqq* (Balance of Truth), by the late Rev. C. G. Pfander, D.D., pp. 360, 361.

of all believers was a powerful attraction, and that certain privileges were always granted new converts, yet the condition of the Christians did not continue so tolerable under later Caliphs as during the first century. T. W. Arnold admits this, although he is a great apologist for Islam as a religion of tolerance. (Arnold's *Preaching of Islam*, p. 66.)[1] There was no such thing as real equality, either in religious or civil affairs. To abandon Islam was treason, to abandon Christianity for Islam brought high privilege, and even pardon for past offences. In civil affairs the Christians not only paid a special tax, but were subject to many disabilities. Toleration by Moslem rulers was always conditioned on the acceptance of an inferior status. (Compare Shedd's *Islam and the Oriental Churches*, pp. 121 and 134.)

Non-Moslems, according to law, were obliged to observe the following rules, and they applied to each individual:[2] "He shall not found churches, monasteries, or religious establishments, nor raise his house so high as, or higher than, the houses of the Moslems; nor ride horses, but only mules and donkeys, and these even after the manner of women; draw back and give way to Moslems in the thoroughfares; wear clothes different from those of the Moslems, or some sign to distinguish him from them; have a distinctive mark when in the public baths, namely, iron, tin, or copper bands; abstain from drinking wine and eating pork; not celebrate religious feasts publicly; nor sing nor read aloud the text of the Old and New Testaments, and not ring bells; nor speak scornfully of God or Mohammed; nor seek to introduce innovations into the state, nor to convert Moslems; nor enter mosques without permission; nor set foot upon the territory of Mecca, nor dwell in the Hedjaz district."[3]

[1] "In the interests of the true believers, vexatious conditions were sometimes imposed upon the non-Muslim population (or *dhimmis*, as they were called, from the compact of *protection* made with them), with the object of securing for the faithful superior social advantages. Unsuccessful attempts were made by several caliphs to exclude them from the public offices. Decrees to this effect were passed by Al Mutawakkil (847-861), Al Muqtadir (908-832), and in Egypt by Al Amir (1101-1130), one of the Fatimid caliphs, and by the Mamluk Sultans in the fourteenth century." Vexatious conditions—that is a euphemism indeed, for what Christians suffered for all these long centuries.

[2] *The Law Affecting Foreigners in Egypt as a Result of the Capitulations*, by James Harry Scott (Edinburgh: William Green & Sons, 1908), pp. 157-158.

[3] *Siraj-el-Muluk*, Boulak Edition, 1289, p. 229, the chapter on the "Rules

In Gibbon's *History of the Roman Empire* (vol. v, p. 493), these regulations are referred to in the following terms: "The captive churches of the East have been afflicted in every age by the avarice or bigotry of their rulers; and the ordinary and legal restraints must be offensive to the pride or the zeal of the Christians. About two hundred years after Mahomet, they were separated from their fellow subjects by a turban or girdle of a less honourable colour; instead of horses or mules, they were condemned to ride on asses, in the attitude of women. Their public and private buildings were measured by a diminutive standard; in the streets or the baths, it is their duty to give way or bow down before the meanest of the people; and their testimony is rejected, if it may tend to the prejudice of a true believer. The pomp of processions, the sound of bells or of psalmody, is interdicted in their worship; a decent reverence for the national faith is imposed on their sermons and conversations; and the sacrilegious attempt to enter a mosque or to seduce a Mussulman will not be suffered to escape with impunity. In a time, however, of tranquillity and injustice, the Christians have never been compelled to renounce the Gospel or to embrace the Koran; but the punishment of death is inflicted upon the apostates who have professed and deserted the law of Mahomet."

These were laws of toleration, but such toleration is the acme of intolerance in its effect on those tolerated. We may admit that early Moslems were more tolerant toward other faiths than their Christian contemporaries, and that the history of Christian Europe has many a page of bitter religious perse-

concerning Tributaries." See also *U.S.A. Consular Report*, 1881, p. 32, note. "There are in Mount Lebanon men still living who remember when no Christian dared to enter a city of Syria when wearing white or green clothes, for the 'Unbelievers' were allowed to appear only in dark-coloured stuffs. In Homs and Hamah the Christians, even down to the year 1874, when I was there, could not ring bells outside of their churches; in Beirut the first to put up a large bell were the Capucine monks, and soon after that the American missionaries in 1830 hung a small church-bell upon the roof of their place of worship. In 1876 the prior of the Franciscan monks set up a bell, a thing until then unheard of, over the new church which that order had erected in the city of Aleppo, but owing to the Herzegovinian and Bosnian troubles then raging, and the evident displeasure of the Aleppine Moslems, a large deputation of influential Christians residing in Aleppo begged of the prior to take down the obnoxious metal, telling him that it might be the cause of an onslaught upon all Christians in the city. The prior wisely took it down."

cution; but in the words of Dr. Shedd: "It must also be remembered that what was an advance in the seventh century is a hopeless barrier in the twentieth, and that active persecution in its very nature must run its course and cease, while toleration is capable of permanency and is for that reason far more dangerous. The strong argument is the true argument, and Islam is condemned most conclusively by the fairest judgment."[1]

The regulations for Christian minorities laid down in the *Hedaya* are similar: "It behoves the Imam to make a distinction between Mussulmans and Zimmees in point both of dress and of equipage. It is therefore not allowable for Zimmees to ride upon horses, or to use armour, or to use the same saddles and wear the same garments or head-dresses as Mussulmans; and it is written, in the *Jama Sageer*, that Zimmees must be directed to wear the *Kisteej* openly, on the outside of their clothes (the *Kisteej* is a woollen cord or belt which Zimmees wear round their waists on the outside of their garments); and also, that they must be directed, if they ride upon any animal, to provide themselves a saddle like the panniers of an ass. . . . It is to be observed that the insignia incumbent upon them to wear is a woollen rope or cord tied round the waist, and not a silken belt. It is requisite that the wives of Zimmees be kept separate from the wives of Mussulmans, both in the public roads, and also in the baths; and it is also requisite that a mark be set upon their dwellings, in order that beggars who come to their doors may not pray for them. The learned have also remarked that it is fit that Zimmees be not permitted to ride at all, except in cases of absolute necessity; and if a Zimmee be then, of necessity, allowed to ride, he must alight whenever he sees any Mussulmans assembled; and if there be a necessity for him to use a saddle, it must be made in the manner of the panniers of an ass. Zimmees of the higher orders must also be prohibited from wearing rich garments."[2]

[1] *Islam and the Oriental Churches*, by William Ambrose Shedd (New York, 1908), pp. 136-137.

[2] *Hedaya*, book ix, chapter viii: "'Zimmees' is the spelling here for *Dhimmis*, i.e. non-Moslems allowed to live in a Moslem state under conditions of tribute."

And here is a modern instance of toleration.

When Dr. St. Clair Tisdall was in Persia near Isfahan, he had a Moslem acquaintance there who dwelt in a neighbouring village. This Persian said to him : " When I was a little boy, some fifty years ago, my parents and I and all the people of our village were Zoroastrians. One day the chief Mujtahid of the city of Isfahan issued a decree, commanding us all to embrace Islam. We petitioned the Prince-Governor of the province, we refused to change our religion, we offered bribes to leading Moslem nobles and 'Ulama. They took our money, but did not help us at all. The Mujtahid gave us until midday on the following Friday to be converted, declaring that we should all be put to death if we did not at that time at latest become Moslems. That morning all the lowest ruffians from the city surrounded our village, each with some deadly weapon in his hand, awaiting the appointed hour to permit him to begin the work of plunder and murder. We waited in vain until it was almost midday, hoping that our enemy would relent. As he did not, just before noon we all accepted Islam, and thus saved our lives." [1]

The So-called Ordinances of Omar, or " Constitutional Rights " of the non-Moslem minorities are traditionally said to have been the Covenant adopted by the Christian cities that submitted to the Arab Conquest. But none of the earliest Mohammedan historians give it, and Sir William Muir doubts its authenticity and considers that it contains oppressive terms that are more characteristic of later times than of the reign of the tolerant 'Omar. It reads as follows : " In the name of God, the Merciful, the Compassionate ! This is the writing from the Christians of such and such a city to 'Omar ibnu-l Khattab. When you marched against us, we asked for protection for ourselves, our families, our possessions and our co-religionists ; and we made this stipulation with you, that we will not erect in our city or the suburbs any new monastery, church, cell or hermitage ; that we will not repair any of such buildings that may fall into ruins, or renew those that may be situated in the Moslem quarters of the town ; that we will

[1] *The Mîzânu 'l Haqq* (Balance of Truth), by the late Rev. C. G. Pfander, D.D., p. 366. Tisdall's revised edition.

not refuse the Moslems entry into our churches either by night or by day; that we will open the gates wide to passengers and travellers; that we will receive any Moslem traveller into our homes and give him food and lodging for three nights; that we will not harbor any spy in our churches or houses, or conceal any enemy of the Moslems; that we will not teach our children the Koran[1]; that we will not make a show of the Christian religion nor invite any one to embrace it; that we will not prevent any of our kinsmen from embracing Islam, if they so desire. That we will honour the Moslems and rise up in our assemblies when they wish to take their seats; that we will not imitate them in our dress, either in the cap, turban, sandals, or parting of the hair; that we will not make use of their expressions of speech, nor adopt their surnames; that we will not ride on saddles, nor gird on swords, nor take to ourselves arms nor wear them, nor engrave Arabic inscriptions on our rings; that we will not sell wine; that we will shave the front of our heads; that we will keep to our own style of dress, wherever we may be; that we will wear girdles round our waists; that we will not display the cross upon our churches nor display our crosses or our sacred books in the streets of the Moslems or in their market places; that we will not take any slaves that have already been in the possession of Moslems, nor spy into their houses; and that we will not strike any Moslem. All this we promise to observe, on behalf of ourselves and our co-religionists, and receive protection from you in exchange; *and if we violate any of the conditions of this agreement, then we forfeit your protection and you are at liberty to treat us as enemies and rebels.*"[2]

[1] It is considered a crime for any one to handle, to read or to learn the Koran until he has himself become a Moslem. This rule is still common in Arabia and other wholly Moslem lands.

[2] The Constitution of 'Omar. From Arnold's *Preaching of Islam*, p. 59. Compare also *The Book of Religion and Empire*, by Ali Tabari (A.D. 847-861), translated by A. Mingana (Manchester University, 1923). This book is by a Christian renegade, and written at a time when religious toleration had changed into persecution at the court of the Caliph, who is called a "Hater of Christians." The writer himself may have turned to Islam as a relief from such regulations as were enforced by his patron, who "forbade the employment of Christians in Government offices and the display of crosses on Palm Sunday; he also gave orders that wooden figures of demons should be fixed on their doors, that they should wear yellow cowls, and a zonarion round the waist, that they should ride saddles with wooden stirrups with two globes

A side light is thrown on the conditions under which Christians lived during all these centuries by the *fetwas* or religious decisions which exist regarding the appointment of non-Moslems to any office in the Moslem state. Such a non-Moslem is always referred to as a *dhimmi*, or one whose rights are protected by the payment of tribute. The text of such documents showing the relation of those who are Mohammedans to minorities is given by Goldziher [1] and also by Belin. [2] A more recent *fetwa* was discovered by Richard Gottheil in a library at Jerusalem. The manuscript is probably of the twelfth century. In answer to the question whether Christians and Jews may be appointed as official scribes, tax-gatherers, etc., the following reply is given: "To place an infidel in authority over a Moslem would never enter the mind of one who had a 'Sound heart.' He who does so must be either a godless fellow or be ignorant of Moslem law and practice." He attempts to prove that a *dhimmi* is not even to be used as a scribe, a money-changer or a butcher, etc.; citing passages from the Koran, from traditions emanating from the "companions" and the "followers," as well as from learned men in preceding generations. The verses cited from the Koran are iv. 143, 140; v. 56, 62. From the *Hadith* a story is told how Mohammed refused the aid of an unbeliever until he had confessed his belief in the new faith. A further Hadith is cited: "Do not obtain light from the fire of idolators," with the usual explanation, "Do not consult them on any point," citing in support of this Koran iii, 114. The story is told of Abu Bakr, how he ordered his followers not to have dealings with idolators who had become Moslems but had returned to their idolatry." [3]

The history of the Coptic church in Egypt and that of the Nestorian church in Persia is eloquent in its testimony to the martyr spirit of these churches. In Persia Christian women received a thousand lashings with thongs from a bull's hide

behind the saddle, that the men's clothes should have inserted a couple of patches of colour different from that of the clothes themselves, each patch to be four inches wide, and the two patches were also to be of different colours."

[1] *Revue des Etudes Juives*, vol. xxviii, p. 75.

[2] *Journal Asiatique*, 1851, p. 431.

[3] *Festschrift Ignaz Goldziher*, von Carl Bezold (Strassburg, 1911), pp. 206 and 207.

to make them apostatize, but they remained faithful. In Egypt the Copts were tolerated under Moslem rule, but what this tolerance meant is really one long and sickening account of horrible persecution. As Fortescue says: "During this time enormous numbers apostatized. That is not surprising. It was so easy, during a general massacre of Christians, to escape torture and death by professing Islam. Then it was death to go back. The wonder is rather that any Copts at all kept the faith during these hideous centuries." [1] During the whole period of Moslem rule, with some brief respite under certain governors, there were constant instances of Christian massacre and wholesale robbery of Coptic property. During all this period vast numbers turned Mohammedan to escape massacre; and because it was death to return to Christianity, few had the courage to do it. So the number of Copts diminished steadily. [2]

"In 1389 a great procession of Copts who had accepted Islam under fear of death marched through Cairo. Repenting of their apostasy, they now wished to atone for it by the inevitable consequence of returning to Christianity. So as they marched they proclaimed that they believed in Christ and renounced Mohammed. They were seized, and all the men were beheaded one after another in an open square before the women. But this did not terrify the women; so they, too, were all martyred." [3]

The story of the martyrdom of Geronimo by the Pasha Ali, a Calabrian renegade, deserves notice, partly as a typical instance of older Algerian methods with apostates and partly because of its dramatic sequel.

It was about the year A.D. 1536 when, amongst the prisoners brought into Oran by the Spaniards, after a raid on some troublesome Arab tribes, was a boy of about four years old. With the others he was put up for sale as a slave. He was bought by the Vicar-General, Juan Caro, brought up as a Christian, and baptized by the name of Geronimo. During an

[1] *The Lesser Eastern Churches*, by Adrian Fortescue, p. 94.

[2] What conditions were even in the nineteenth century is made clear by Kuriakos Mikhail in his book, *Copts and Moslems under British Control* (London, 1911).

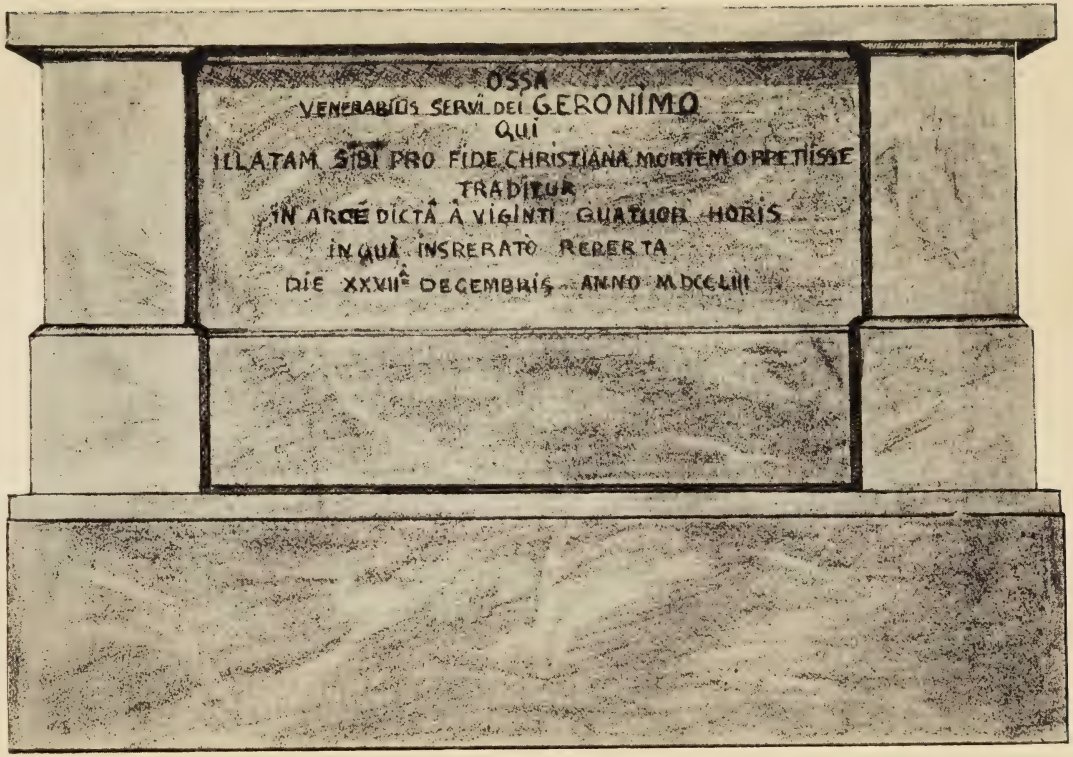
[3] *The Lesser Eastern Churches*, by Adrian Fortescue, p. 247.

outbreak of plague in A.D. 1542, Geronimo escaped, returned home, and for some years lived as a Mohammedan. In May, A.D. 1559, at the age of twenty-five years, he determined to leave his home, to return to Oran, and once more to adopt Christianity. He was received by his old master, Juan Caro, married to an Arab girl who was also a Christian, and enrolled in one of the squadrons called " Cuadrillas de Campo."

In May, 1569, he was sent from Oran with nine companions to surprise a village or Douar on the seashore. On this expedition he was taken prisoner by a couple of Tetuan brigantines, and carried to Algiers, to be once more sold as a slave. When a body of slaves was brought in, the Pasha had a right to choose one in every ten for himself, and thus Geronimo passed into the hands of Ali. Every effort was made to induce him to renounce Christianity once more, and to return to Islam, but in vain. The Pasha was then engaged in building a fort called the Burj-Setti-Takelilt (named afterwards, for some unknown reason, " Le Fort des Vingt-Quatre Heures "), to protect the water-gate, Bab-el-Oued, of Algiers. On September 18th, A.D. 1569, Geronimo was sent for and given the choice of either at once renouncing Christianity, or being buried alive in one of the great cases in which blocks of concrete were being made for the construction of the fort.

But the faith of Geronimo was not to be shaken. The chains were then struck off his legs, he was bound hand and foot, and thrown into the case of concrete. A Spanish renegade called Tamango, who had become a Moslem under the name of Jaffar, leapt in upon him, and with his heavy mallet hammered him down into the concrete. The block was then built up into the north wall of the fort, but its position was noted and remembered by " Michael of Navarre," a Christian and a master mason, who was making the concrete. The facts were collected by Don Diego de Haedo, and printed in his Topography of Algiers.

In A.D. 1853 the French found it necessary to remove the fort. At half-past twelve on December 27th of that year, the explosion of a mine split one of the blocks of concrete and revealed the bones of Geronimo, which had lain in their strange tomb for nearly three hundred years. The block containing



Inscription on the Tomb of Geronimo
in the Cathedral at Algiers.

the bones has been placed in the cathedral, but as the relics have obstinately refused to work a miracle, the title of Geronimo to be a saint has not been made good. "Ossa venerabilis servi Dei Geronimi," so runs the epitaph.

A plaster cast taken of the cavity shows the arms of Geronimo still bound, but in the awful struggles of suffocation his legs had broken loose.[1] (See frontispiece).

There is many another tragedy recorded in stone throughout the Near East; many of the churches were changed into mosques, and costly mosaics which once proclaimed the Gospel story are now plastered over with Mohammedan inscriptions. All of these ruins are eloquent though mute witnesses of what centuries of persecution meant to the Christian minorities. Take, for example, the cathedral of Famagusta, the key of the kingdom of Venice and one of the most beautiful cities in Cyprus. When the Turks besieged the city in 1571, Braggadino, the brave Christian general, resisted to the utmost. Finally he surrendered to Mustapha Pasha, the Turkish commander, on honourable terms. But the Turk broke his faith, and the handful of survivors were massacred. "According to contemporary historians Marcantonio Braggadino was obliged to witness the murder of his chief officers 'and many times to endure the pangs of death before he was released from life.' For twice and thrice did Mustapha make Braggadino, who showed no sign of fear, stretch out his neck as though he would strike off his head, but spared his life and cut off his ears and nose, and as he lay on the ground Mustapha reviled him, cursing our Lord and saying: 'Where now is thy Christ that He doth not help you?' The general made never an answer, but with lofty patience awaited the end.

"Twelve days after, on a Friday, Braggadino was led, full of wounds which had received no care, into the presence of Mustapha, on the batteries built against the city, and for all his weakness was made to carry one basketful of earth up and another down, on each redoubt, and forced to kiss the

[1] Cf. Cyril Fletcher Grant's *Studies in North Africa* (London, 1912) pp. 239-240. A. Berbrugger's *Geronimo, le Martyr du Fort des Vingt-Quatre Heures a Alger* (Algiers, 1859).

ground when he passed Mustapha. Then he was led to the shore, set in a slung seat and a crown at his feet, and hoisted on the yard of the Captain of Rhodes, hung like a stork, in view of all the Christian soldiers on the port. Then the noble gentleman was led to the square, the drums beat, the trumpets sounded, and before a great crowd they stripped him and made him sit amid every insult on the grating of the pillory. Then they stretched him on the ground and brutally flayed him alive. With an incredible courage this amazing man bore all with great firmness . . . never losing heart, but ever with the sternest constancy reproaching them for their broken faith, with never a sign of wavering he commended himself to his Saviour, and when the steel reached his navel he gave up his . . . spirit to his Maker.

" The martyr's skin was then stuffed with straw and paraded in the streets on a cow, while the red umbrella under which the living Braggadino had ridden out to hand the keys in state was held over him in mockery. Finally it was sent to Constantinople as a trophy. On its way the gruesome object was hung on a ship's yard and paraded round the Turkish littoral as a spectacle." [1]

Under the Ottoman Turks, however (1517-1882), conditions for Christian communities became somewhat better, and they flourished as far as it is possible for Christians to flourish under Moslem government. But that this theory of government was one of rule by the sword is evident not only to one who studies the history of minorities, Jewish and Christian, in the Ottoman Empire; but it is also evident from the very inscriptions we find on the royal swords of all this period. In the Arab Museum at Cairo there are many specimens of beautiful swords. One of them (No. 3595) dates from the sixteenth century, and bears this inscription, after honorific titles :—" Abu Nasr Tuoman Bey, Father of the poor and of Moslems; Slayer of unbelievers and polytheists; Reviver of justice throughout the world!" Another, dating from the eighteenth century, belongs to a Turkish dynasty and has an inscription with similar references to the use of the sword against unbelievers. Throughout the entire Moslem world,

[1] " A Tragedy in Stone," in *The Near East*, October 11th, 1923.

with the exception of such lands as China where Islam made no sword conquest, a wooden sword is in the hands of every preacher at the Friday service in the mosques. This emblem is typical of Islam. It is the visible symbol of that law for the infidel and the apostate which has never been abrogated in all the history of Mohammedan States except under Akbar in India.

We are often assured by educated Moslems of the present day that the treatment of Christian and Jew in Turkey for all these centuries was one of tolerance, and that the minorities lived in peace with their Moslem neighbours. But the treatment of their dead is proof to the contrary. The following account of an historical document is from an authoritative source.

"In what the Turks no doubt regard as the happier days of a century ago non-Moslem subjects of the Sultan met with scant respect from the Faithful during their lives; and when they were unfortunate—or fortunate!—enough to shuffle off this mortal coil, Moslem scorn still pursued them. When such an one died it was necessary to obtain special authorization to bury him in Turkish soil; and this had to be procured by the Church, or head of the religion to which he had belonged. It would be thought that such permission would be accorded in terms free from offence, but in point of fact the representatives of the Padishah seem to have gone out of their way in order to make them as brutal as possible. Below we give specimens of such authorizations, translated from the Turkish of three actual letters issued by the authorities, sanctioning the burial of an Orthodox Christian, of an Armenian, and of a Jew, respectively. These were discovered by a correspondent, among some treasured souvenirs of an old Constantinople family. They contain expressions which are highly objectionable; but we reproduce them, in order that our readers may be able to estimate more correctly the spirit which actuated the 'Proud Osmanlee' of those days, and which is doubtless responsible for much of the hatred felt for him to-day by the peoples who were formerly under his rule.

"It will be observed that the date of the Letter of Authority to the Armenian Priest is missing; but our correspondent informs us that the letter may be regarded as having been

written at about the same time as the other two, or between the years in the Turkish Calendar 1223-1239 (A.D. 1808-1824).

"The following are translations from the three letters:

"To the Greek Priest.—O Thou, whose cloak is as black as the devil, and whose garment is the colour of tar, detestable monk, fat, filthy, and crafty priest, who art deprived of the grace of the Holy Jesus Christ, take notice:

"Authorization has been accorded to dig a grave and to hurl inside the repulsive putrid flesh (which even the earth shrinks from) of the infidel Constantin, who belonged to thy race and has just died.—The 21 Chaban 1223.

"To the Armenian Priest.—Thou who wearest the crown of the devil, who art clothed with a garment of the colour of tar, fat, cunning, and filthy priest, and deprived of the divine pardon, here is the object of our present communication:

"The infidel, Kirkor, who belonged to the detestable herd that constitutes thy filthy race, has just died. It is true that the earth does not wish to have this pig's carcase; but in order to prevent its stink from infesting the Mussulman quarter, I order thee to dig a grave immediately, to throw it inside, and to beat down, without ceasing, the earth with which thou shalt cover up this blasphemous pig's hole.

"To the Jews.—O thou, Rabbi of the traitorous nation, which denies the coming of Jesus Christ, and does not recognize Holy Moses, take notice:

"One of the individuals of the encumbering herd of thy community established at Salonika has just rendered his soul to the pitiless devil, and thus plunged it into the flames of Hell.

"The venerable Chéry authorizes thee, traitorous Rabbi, to find, somewhere, a latrine, which you will fill by throwing into it his stinking carcase.—The 15 Redjeb, 1239."[1]

Such was the regard paid to minorities, dead or alive, by Islamic authorities at the beginning of the 19th Century!

In how far the Armenian persecutions, deportations and massacres were due to the spirit of *Jihad* may be disputed,[2] but no one can read the official documents on the treatment of Armenians in the Ottoman Empire without coming to the same conclusion reached by Viscount Bryce in the preface of a

[1] "Correspondence from Turkey," in *The Near East*, Nov. 24th, 1921.

[2] It is not disputed by many who have studied the history of Islam. Cf. Schulthess, *Die Machtmittel des Islams* (Zurich, 1923).

Blue Book on the subject: "The vast scale of these massacres and the pitiless cruelty with which the deportations were carried out may seem to some readers to throw doubt on the authenticity of the narratives. Can human beings (it may be asked) have perpetrated such crimes on innocent women and children? But a recollection of previous massacres will show that such crimes are part of the long settled and often repeated policy of Turkish rulers. In Chios, nearly a century ago, the Turks slaughtered almost the whole Greek population of the island. In European Turkey in 1876 many thousands of Bulgarians were killed on the suspicion of an intended rising, and the outrages committed on women were, on a smaller scale, as bad as those here recorded. In 1895 and 1896 more than a hundred thousand Armenian Christians were put to death by Abd-ul-Hamid, many thousands of whom died as martyrs to their Christian faith, by abjuring which they could have saved their lives. All these massacres are registered not only in the ordinary Press records of current history but in the reports of British diplomatic and consular officials written at the time. They are as certain as anything else that has happened in our day. There is, therefore, no antecedent improbability to be overcome before the accounts here given can be accepted. All that happened in 1915 is in the regular line of Turkish policy. The only differences are in the scale of the present crimes, and in the fact that the lingering sufferings of deportations in which the deaths were as numerous as in the massacres, and fell with special severity upon the women, have in this latest instance been added. The record of the rulers of Turkey for the last two or three centuries, from the Sultan on his throne down to the district Mutassarif, is, taken as a whole, an almost unbroken record of corruption, of injustice, of an oppression which often rises into hideous cruelty. The Young Turks, when they deposed Abd-ul-Hamid, came forward as the apostles of freedom, promising equal rights and equal treatment to all Ottoman subjects. The facts here recorded show how that promise was kept. Can any one still continue to hope that the evils of such a government are curable? Or does the evidence contained in this volume furnish the most terrible and convincing proof that it can no

longer be permitted to rule over subjects of a different faith ? "[1]

The Armenian massacres were the disgrace of the 19th century no less than of the 20th. Each quarter of a century has been marked by one infamous butchery. In 1822 fifty thousand defenceless Christian subjects were murdered on the island of Chios. In 1850 ten thousand Nestorians were butchered in the Kurdish mountains. In 1860 eleven thousand Maronites and Syrians were murdered in the Lebanon and Damascus. In 1876 followed the Bulgarian atrocities in which the American Consul-General estimated that the number of Bulgarians killed by the Turks was at least fifteen thousand. In 1892 there was a slaughter of Yezidees at Mosul ; and of Armenian and Cretans there were other butcheries in 1867 and 1877. In 1894 fanaticism and intolerance again broke out. The first blow fell at Sassoun, where ten thousand Armenians were slain. There were eleven massacres in 1895, and the scenes of Sassoun were repeated elsewhere. " At Birejik the soldiers found some twenty people, men, women and children, who had taken refuge in a cave. They dragged them out and killed all the men and boys, because they would not become Moslems. After cutting down one old man, who had thus refused, they put live coals upon his body, and as he was writhing in torture, they held a Bible before him and mockingly asked him to read them some of the promises he had trusted." The British Blue Book (1896), is a chapter of horrors ; one ghastly story of rape, pillage and massacres. Those who are sceptical whether Islam was propagated by the sword have only to study the history of the Armenian massacres to see that the spirit of intolerance and hatred of unbelievers and the law of Islam bidding them to humiliate Christians and bring them low still prevails.

In reply to those who assert against all evidence that these Armenian massacres were political and not due to religious hatred, hear what Dr. Johannes Lepsius says in his report of the massacres of 1914-1918.[2]

[1] *The Treatment of Armenians in the Ottoman Empire*, 1915-1916. Documents presented to Viscount Grey of Falloden by Viscount Bryce.

[2] Quoted in *Armenia : A Martyr Nation*, p. 269. Cf. the original work by Dr. Johannes Lepsius, *Deutschland und Armenien*, 1914-1918. Sammlung

"What are the Armenian massacres then? Without question their origin was political; or to state it more exactly, they were an administrative measure. But facts go to prove that, considering the character of the Mohammedan people, whose very political passions are roused only by religious motives, this administrative measure must and did take the form of a religious persecution on a gigantic scale. Are we then simply forbidden to speak of the Armenians as 'persecuted on account of their religious belief'? If so, there have never been any religious persecutions in the world; for all such without exception have been associated with political movements, and even the death of Christ was nothing but a political event, for political motives turned the balance at His condemnation.

"We have lists before us of 559 villages whose surviving inhabitants were converted to Islam with fire and sword; of 568 churches thoroughly pillaged, destroyed and razed to the ground; of 282 Christian churches transformed into mosques; of 21 Protestant preachers and 170 Gregorian (Armenian) priests who were, after enduring unspeakable tortures, murdered on their refusal to accept Islam. We repeat, however, that those figures express only the extent of our information, and do not by a long way reach to the extent of the reality. Is this a religious persecution or is it not? . . ."

The whole doctrine of Jihad, or religious war in Islam, indicates the spirit of intolerance which, although denied by modern Moslem writers, is at the very heart of Islam. Among modern apologists, Jihad is regarded as a war in defence of Islam. That this is not correct has been conclusively shown. Professor D. B. Macdonald says that Islam must be completely made over before this doctrine can be eliminated. (See article, *Djihad*, in the Encyclopedia of Islam). The verse often quoted to prove the tolerance of Islam, "Let there be no compulsion in religion," preceded and was abrogated by the verse of the Sword. And the command in ii. 186-7 to fight against

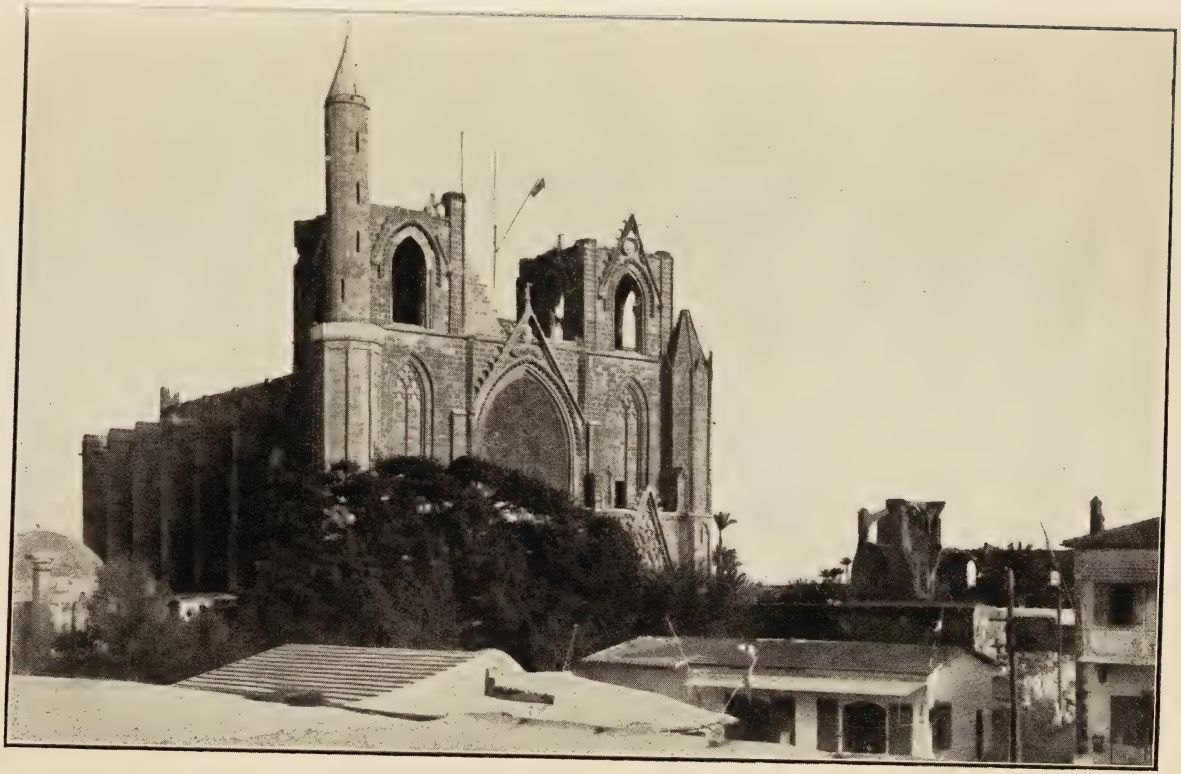
diplomatischer aktenstücke. (Potsdam, 1919.) This work of over 540 pages is based on official documents, and gives many cases of forced conversion to Islam and of the application of the principles that underlie the law of apostasy. E.g. pp. 35-37, 387, etc., etc.

those who fight, but not to transgress by attacking first, was, according to Zamakhshari and others, abrogated by the command, " Fight against all the idolators." (See Zamakhshari *in loco* and article on *Jihad* by W. R. W. Gardner in *The Moslem World*. Vol. ii.)[1]

The Turkish massacres, whatever may have been their immediate cause, were carried on in a spirit of religious hatred. Mr. Trowbridge, in describing the massacres at Adana, April 1909, says, " The fact that Mohammedan teaching was essentially at the root of this massacre is evidenced in many ways ; for example, by the fact that shops belonging to Turks were chalk-marked ' Islam ' the night before the massacre, so as to save them from pillage and burning. I have a photograph of one of the shops so marked in Turkish lettering. But the most signal proof is in the conspicuous part which the mullahs and muftis took in the outrages."

Not only a spirit of intolerance and persecution, but the example of religious assassination has worked like a leaven in Moslem life and thought. Much is made in these days of the new religion of the Bab and its offspring, Bahaism ; but even this religion, which is a decided advance compared with the old Islam, does not scruple at religious assassination. In an article on this subject (*Moslem World*, Vol. iv, p. 143), the late Rev. S. G. Wilson sums up the evidence as follows : " Sayid Kamil, a Bahai of Shiraz, said to Prof. Browne with a look of supreme surprise, ' You surely cannot pretend to deny that a prophet, who is an incarnation of the Universal Intelligence, has a right to inflict death, openly or *secretly*, on those who stubbornly opposed him. A prophet is no more to be blamed for removing an obdurate opponent than a surgeon for an amputation of a gangrenous limb.' This opinion prevailed among the Bahais. At Yezd they said, ' A divine messenger has as much right to kill and compel as a surgeon to amputate.' The Bahai missionaries maintained that, ' A prophet has a right to slay if he knows it necessary ; if he sees that the slaughter of a few will prevent many from going astray, he is justified in commanding such slaughter. No one can question

[1] That the Koran itself teaches such warfare is clearly shown by Obbink, *De Heilige Oorlog* (Brill, Leiden, 1901).



A Tragedy in Stone—The Cathedral at Famagusta, Cyprus; Now a Mosque.
After an investment of nearly a year, the Turks took the town in 1571. This is one of many Churches in the Near East that have become Mosques. See the story of the surrender of Famagusta, page 89.

his right to destroy the bodies of a few that the souls of many may live.' A Bahai acquaintance of Dr. Frame, of Resht, told him ' without any appearance of shame, that he paid so much to have a persecutor removed.' In connection with all the above facts, it must be kept in mind that *religious assassination has been freely practised since the beginning of Islam,* and that the prophet Mohammed gave it the sanction of his example on numerous occasions."

In spite of all these laws and this spirit of intolerance it is remarkable that there were, nevertheless, throughout all the centuries conversions from Islam to Christianity. Although these conversions were not common, yet we find in the Greek orthodox church a regular ritual adopted for the acceptance of Moslem converts who apostatized from their religion and entered or re-entered the fold of the church. One of these formulas of abjuration is given by Prof. Edouard Montet in the original Greek with translation.[1] It is from a manuscript supposed to date 1281 A.D., but the text itself goes back to the ninth century. The ritual as given includes an anathema on the Saracens, Mohammed and the Caliphs, the Koran, the Moslem paradise, Moslem pilgrimage to Mecca, and other doctrines. One paragraph of this ritual is significant: " J'anathématise toutes les ordonnances de Moamed, dans lesquelles, insultant les Chrétiens, il les appelle des négateurs, des faiseurs de compagnies et d'associations, et il excite les Sarrasins á les haîr et á les massacrer, appelant voie de Dieu la guerre contre les Chrétiens et nommant les Sarrasins qui muerent dans une telle guerre des fils de Dieu dignes du paradis." Which shows that the new convert from Islam rejected the old method of propagandism, at least in his open and public confession.

Various instances of conversions are given, although they are scanty, both in the Christian and the Moslem records. In one case a Moslem is said to have been converted by the miraculous vision of a lamb in a Christian church at the time of the Eucharist. He was imprisoned by the Khalifa Harun ur Rashid and after two years was executed, a martyr to his

[1] *Etudes Orientales et Religieuses,* by Edouard Montet (Geneve, 1917), pp. 205-228.

faith.[1] Two other stories in Bar Hebraeus may be quoted to illustrate the incidents that would often be connected with conversions. They are such as would be frequent whenever the country was disturbed, and rare when the government was strong, and might easily be paralleled by modern instances. One is that of a girl living in the twelfth century (1159 A.D.) in the neighbourhood of Mosul, who was betrothed to a Christian. Her father, born a Christian, had apostatized to Islam, the rest of the family keeping their faith; and in consequence, opposition was made by the Moslems to her marriage to a Christian. The Maphriana, who authorized the marriage ceremony, was arrested, and the girl, of course, was brought before the authorities. She persisted in the profession of faith in Christianity. Finally her firmness and that of the Maphriana, who had been imprisoned for forty days, triumphed in so far that she was not compelled to accept Islam; but she could not remain in her home, and ended her days as a nun in Jerusalem.[2]

How conversions to Islam took place in Algiers in 1678 is vividly related in quaint English by Joseph Pitts, the Exeter sailor boy who was taken prisoner by pirates and was the first European to visit Mecca.

"We returned back to *Algiers* in some small time; and a little after that, he carried me into Camp with him; and it so happen'd, that his two Brothers, being *Spahys*, or Troopers, were with him in one and the same Tent. His younger Brother would be frequently (behind his Back, and sometimes before his Face) perswading me to turn *Mahomaten*, and to gain me, made me large Offers; but I little regarded them.

"The eldest Brother, who was my chief *Patroon*, I found, was not very fond of my turning; for he would often threaten me, that if I did turn *Turk*, and did not learn my Book well, he would beat me soundly. But when his younger Brother, who had been so often tampering with me, saw that no Arguments nor Offers would prevail, he began to lie very close to his Brother to force me to turn; and as an Argument, would often tell him, 'That he had been a Profligate and debauch'd

[1] Bar Hebraeus, *Syr. Chron.* p. 132.
[2] Shedd, *Islam and the Oriental Churches*, pp. 149, 153.

Man in his time, and a Murderer; and that the *Proselyting* me would be some sort of an *Atonement* for his past Impieties; and flatly told him, that otherwise he would never go to *Heaven*.' Whereupon (as guilty Men are willing to lay hold on every pretence to Happiness, though never so slight, and groundless) the eldest Brother endeavoured to perswade me; and finding that would not do, he threatened to send me hundreds of miles into the Country, where I should never see the Face of any *Christian*. But finding all these Methods to be ineffectual to the End they drove at, the two Brothers consulted together, and resolved upon *Cruelty*, and *Violence*, to see what that would do. Accordingly, on a certain day, when my *Patroon's* Barber came to trim him, I being there to give Attendance, my *Patroon* bid me kneel down before him; which I did: He then ordered the Barber to cut off my Hair with his Scissars: but I mistrusting somewhat of their Design, struggled with them; but by stronger Force my Hair was cut off, and then the Barber went about to shave my Head, my *Patroon* all the while holding my Hands. I kept shaking my *Head*, and he kept striking me in the Face. After my Head, with much ado, was shaved, my *Patroon* would have me take off my Clothes, and put on *Turkish* Habit. I told him plainly I would not: Whereupon I was forthwith hauled away to another Tent, in which we kept our Provision; where were two Men, viz., the *Cook* and the *Steward*; one of which held me while the other stript me, and put on me the *Turkish* Garb. I all this while kept crying, and told my *Patroon*, that although he had chang'd my *Habit*, yet he could never change my *Heart*. The Night following, before he lay down to sleep, he call'd me, and bid me kneel down by his Bed-side, and then used Entreaties that I would gratify him in renouncing my *Religion*. I told him it was against my *Conscience*, and withal, desired him to sell me and buy another Boy, who perhaps might more easily be won; but as for my part, I was afraid I should be everlastingly damn'd, if I complied with his Request. He told me, he would pawn his Soul for mine, and many other *importunate* Expressions did he use. At length I desired him to let me go to bed, and I would pray to God, and if I found any better Reasons suggested to my mind than what I then had,

to turn, by the next Morning, I did not know what I might do ; but if I continued in the same mind I was, I desired him to say no more to me on that Subject. This he agreed to, and so I went to Bed. But (whatever ail'd him) having not Patience to stay till the Morning for my Answer, he awoke me in the Night, and ask'd me what my Sentiments now were. I told him they were the same as before. Then he took me by the Right-hand, and endeavoured to make me hold up the Fore-finger, as they usually do when they speak those Words, viz., *La Allah ellallah, Mohammed Resul Allah* (which initiates them *Turks*, as I have related before) but I did with all my might bend it down, so that he saw nothing was to be done with me without *Violence* ; upon which he presently call'd two of his Servants, and commanded them to tie up my Feet with a Rope to the Post of the Tent ; and when they had so done, he with a great Cudgel fell a beating of me upon my bare Feet. And being a very strong Man, and full of Passion, his blows fell heavy indeed ; and the more he beat me, the more chafed and enraged he was, and declared, that in short, if I would not turn, he would beat me to Death. I roar'd out to feel the Pain of his cruel Strokes ; but the more I cry'd the more furiously he laid on ; and to stop the Noise of my crying, would stamp with his Feet on my Mouth ; at which I beg'd him to despatch me out of the way ; but he continued beating me. After I had endured this merciless Usage so long, till I was ready to faint and die under it, and saw him as mad and implacable as ever, I beg'd him to forbear, and I would turn. And breathing a while, but still hanging by the Feet, he urg'd me again to speak the Words. Very unwilling I was, and held him in suspense a while ; and at length told him, that I could not speak them. At which he was more enrag'd then before, and fell at me again in a most barbarous manner. After I had received a great many Blows a second time, I beseech'd him to hold his Hand, and gave him fresh hopes of my turning *Mahometan* ; and after I had taken a little more Breath, I told him as before, I could not do what he desired. And thus I held him in suspense three, or four times ; but at last, seeing his Cruelty towards me insatiable, unless I turn'd, through *Terrour* I did it, and spake the Words as usual, holding up the Fore-finger of my

Right-hand: And presently I was had away to a Fire, and care was taken to heal my Feet, (for they were so beaten, that I was not able to go upon them for several Days) and so I was put to Bed."[1]

The story of Henry Martyn's earliest Moslem convert is illustration of the swift application of mutilation according to the law of apostasy: "Sabat and Abdallah, two Arabs of notable pedigree, becoming friends, resolved to travel together. After a visit to Mecca they went to Cabul, where Abdallah entered the service of Zeman Shah, the famous Ameer. There, an Armenian lent him the Arabic Bible, he became a Christian and he fled for his life to Bokhara. Sabat had preceded him there, and at once recognized him on the street. 'I had no pity,' said Sabat afterwards. 'I delivered him up to Morad Shah, the King. He was offered his life if he would abjure Christ. He refused. Then one of his hands was cut off, and again he was pressed to recant. He made no answer, but looked up steadfastly towards heaven, like Stephen, the first martyr, his eyes streaming with tears. He looked at me, but it was with the countenance of forgiveness. His other hand was then cut off. But he never changed, and when he bowed his head to receive the blow of death all Bokhara seemed to say, "What new thing is this?"' Remorse drove Sabat to long wanderings, in which he came to Madras, where the Government gave him the office of mufti, or expounder of the law of Islam in the civil courts. At Vizagapatam he fell in with a copy of the Arabic New Testament as revised by Solomon Negri, and sent out to India by the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge in the middle of last century. He compared it with the Koran, the truth fell on him 'like a flood of light,' and he sought baptism in Madras at the hands of the Rev. Dr. Kerr. He was named Nathaniel. He was then twenty-seven years of age. When the news reached his family in Arabia his brother set out to destroy him, and, disguised as an Asiatic, wounded him with a dagger as he sat in his house at Vizagapatam."[2] It is the same story in Arabia, Turkey,

[1] *A Faithful Account of the Religion and Manners of the Mahometans*, by Joseph Pitts of Exon (London, 1738), pp. 192-196.

[2] *Henry Martyn*, by George Smith (London, 1892), pp. 226-227.

Afghanistan, Persia, Algiers, India—no mercy for the Apostate and no equality or liberty for Christian minorities.

As we look back upon these centuries of persecution of our fellow Christians the Nestorians, the Armenians, the Greeks and the Copts we realize the truth of our unity in Christ, and come to a similar conclusion as that reached by Adrian Fortescue, the Roman Catholic historian : " In a land ruled by Moslems there is at bottom an essential solidarity between all Christians. These other Christians too are children of God, baptized as we are. Their venerable hierarchies descend unbroken from the old Eastern Fathers, who are our Fathers too. When they stand at their liturgies they adore the same sacred Presence which sanctifies our altars, in their Communions they receive the Gift that we receive. And at least for one thing we must envy them, for the glory of that martyr's crown they have worn for over a thousand years. We can never forget that. During all those dark centuries there was not a Copt nor a Jacobite, not a Nestorian nor an Armenian, who could not have bought relief, ease, comfort, by denying Christ and turning Turk. I can think of nothing else like it in the world. These poor forgotten rayahs in their pathetic schisms for thirteen hundred years of often ghastly persecution kept their loyalty to Christ. And still for His name they bear patiently a servile state and the hatred of their tyrants. Shall we call them heretics and schismatics ? They are martyrs and sons of martyrs. The long bloodstain which is their history must atone, more than atone, for their errors about Ephesus and Chalcedon. For who can doubt that when the end comes, when all men are judged, their glorious confession shall weigh heavier than their schism ? Who can doubt that those unknown thousands and tens of thousands will earn forgiveness for errors of which they were hardly conscious, when they show the wounds they bore for Christ ? When that day comes I think we shall see that in their imperfect Churches they were more Catholic than we now think. For there is a promise to which these Eastern Christians have more right than we who sit in comfort under tolerant governments : *Qui me confessus fuerit coram hominibus, confitebor et ego eum coram Patri meo.*" [1]

[1] *The Lesser Eastern Churches*, by Adrian Fortescue (London, 1913).

CHAPTER V.

HIDDEN DISCIPLES.

"And Naaman said, If not, yet, I pray thee, let there be given to thy servant two mules' burden of earth; for thy servant will henceforth offer neither burnt-offering nor sacrifice unto other gods, but unto Jehovah. In this thing Jehovah pardon thy servant; when my master goeth into the House of Rimmon to worship there, and he leaneth on my hand, and I bow myself in the house of Rimmon: when I bow myself in the house of Rimmon, Jehovah pardon thy servant in this thing."

2 Kings v. 17, 18.

"The same came to Jesus by night."

John iii. 2.

"Most blest believer he!
Who in that land of darkness and blind eyes
Thy long expected healing wings could see,
When thou didst rise;
And, what can never more be done,
Did at midnight speak with the sun!"

HENRY VAUGHAN.

CHAPTER V.

Hidden Disciples.

There must have been others who came to Jesus by night, as well as did Nicodemus ; and in the Old Testament story it is evident that Naaman was not the only one who worshipped Jehovah, and yet remained outside of the inner circle of Israel. In all Mission fields the experience has been similar. In the days of persecution, of intolerance, and of open hostility toward the religion of Christ, those who were afraid to confess Him before men, and yet believed in Him secretly, came by night. Missionaries among Moslems all testify to the fact that under the law of apostasy it is exceedingly difficult to urge a convert to make open confession, when such open confession inevitably would mean martyrdom. Here, for example, are four recent instances from one corner of the great Moslem world. All of them come within the experience of one worker ; and such cases could be multiplied from many fields :—

" This summer I met X—— who was educated in a little mission school on the borders of the desert near Damascus. With other Arab Moslems he heard of Jesus, studied His teaching ; and he is to-day a Christian, but not baptized. He is looking for a place to teach under Christian influences. He has been asked to go back to his home village, which he left when in danger ; but if he does so he will risk his life, for he is marked. So he remains in Beirut as a silent believer waiting for God's guidance. Would you urge X—— to return, confess Christ in his own village, and be ready to die there ?

" In a nearby girls' school a Turkish woman came to an American teacher secretly, asking her to read a Book which she did not understand. It was the Gospel. After a year she openly confessed that Jesus was her Master, and said she would become a Christian if the teachers could protect her. She did not dare to confess Christ before her own people, for that would mean

death or suffering. No protection could be guaranteed, and she had no money to take her out of the land. She drifted back, was married to a Turk; and somewhere behind these veils a Turkish woman is looking silently to the Master and longing. What would you have told her?

"A sixteen year old boy is to-day in a mission school. His Arab father has divorced the Turkish mother. After several years of intimate contact with the teachers and with the word of God, he has accepted the teachings of the Master. But he is not a baptized Christian. Should he confess openly to-day, he might not be alive when this letter reaches you. And he is not a Moslem; the love of Christ has changed him. Silently he lives a quiet, good life—an example of purity and morality both to Christian boys and Moslem boys—loved and respected by all. Silently he receives the life-giving power from the Master. What would you urge him to do?

"One of our teachers is an elderly Arab lady, called 'the Stranger,' because she left her own land years ago to come here. As a girl she learned of Christ, accepted Him, confessed Him, was thrown out of the home and found a refuge in a mission school. For thirty years she has been a quiet faithful teacher, respected as a Christian. After the first violent outbreaks she has suffered little persecution; but in her new home, where her Moslem childhood is not known so well, she quietly continues to witness for Christ." Such are the problems that face missionaries among Moslems in every land. Nor is their solution as easy in experience as it might prove on paper.

During my early missionary experience in Arabia I remember hearing of a company of Arabs in the city of Hofhuf in Hassa, who met together night after night to read the Scriptures. One of them came to our dispensary and showed a marvellous acquaintance with the contents and the teaching of the New Testament. He told me that the others in this group were also convinced that Jesus Christ was superior to Mohammed, that His character and life were the highest example, and that He died and rose again, a Living Saviour. Yet to reveal the existence of such a group to enemies of the Gospel would disperse them and endanger them.

The entrance of God's word always gives light and often gives

life. The real pioneer missionary is, in nearly every case, the colporteur, and it is my conviction that no Societies have been so greatly used of God in the Moslem world, both extensively and intensively, during the past quarter of a century, as have the British and Foreign, and the American Bible Societies. The changed attitude towards the Scriptures and the Christian Message has been largely due to the output and the outreach of these agencies. In their annual reports we often read of a number of secret believers among Moslems. In Muscat, Arabia, " not a few know that the Gospel is true and the only Word, but few are willing to make the all-surrender, as it involves too much loss in this world."[1] Regarding the Delta in Egypt, we read that many of the Moslems purchase the Bible and are studying it, searching for the way of salvation. Some of them in the villages invite the colporteurs to come and explain to them things they have read in the Bible, but could not understand or reconcile with what they had been taught.

A colporteur in Albania gives the following incidents. " One day I entered a coffee-house, where I found a Moslem whom I had known for many years. After the usual greetings, he began to talk about our Lord Jesus Christ and His Gospel. He had been a violent and bad man in his youth, but now in his old age he was different. He spoke respectfully about the teachings and parables of the Gospels and gave Jesus Christ the name, ' Our Lord,' although when speaking of Mohammed he merely spoke of him as ' Mohammed.' The other Moslems present listened to him attentively. I then learned from him that he had bought a Turkish New Testament when he was at Constantinople. Some time ago I met a man in the street with a book under his arm. I asked him what it was. He showed it to me, and I found it was a New Testament, evidently well read, for it was much marked. The man said, ' I have had this book for many years, and it is my guide for the present life and also for the future and everlasting one.' "[2] Such examples, which could be multiplied, show that the Holy Spirit is continually working through the Word of God and bringing men to repentance.

[1] *Report of the American Bible Society*, 1923.
[2] *Report of the British and Foreign Bible Society*, 1923.

In Persia a Moslem priest entered the Society's depôt at Teheran seeking an English primer. As he could not obtain what he wanted he bought a Gospel in English. Later he returned and bought a Persian Bible. A week later he came again and said: "For a long time I have been seeking the truth, and I think I have found it now. Can this book save me?" "No," replied our agent, "the book cannot save you, but the Saviour can of Whom it speaks." A fortnight passed and again he entered the depôt. "I have now found what I was seeking for," he said, "and I intend to pass on to others the good news of salvation." A Persian Moslem of good family made this confession: "The *Injil* (Gospel) is the best of all books. I have read it and found that it brings peace and love and salvation."[1]

Where thousands of copies of the Gospel are circulated every year we may well expect that there are secret believers. The Rev. J. H. Boyd, of Tanta, writes mentioning six of them; and says his list could be greatly enlarged. "One in Alexandria, who was one of the best informed in the Scriptures of any man I have known, frequently attended church, and did not hesitate to let it be known before others that he was a Christian. However, he never dared make public profession. Another is a teacher in a government school who freely confesses Christ before others, and hopes to be baptized soon. He is a fine young fellow. Then there is a telegraph operator who has acknowledged Christ as His Saviour before different ones, and whom I believe to be a saved man. A fourth is a Sheikh who is attending one of our village meetings and is a thorough believer. He made a beautiful explanation of the way of salvation in a recent conversation with me; and he also told of an Azhar man who had spoken out at 'a mourning,' calling upon all to read the Bible as the book of God, and telling them that it was their loss not to do so. Some of his hearers wrote to the chancellor of the Azhar, and he was dropped in the last year. Another Sheikh, a teacher in one of our schools, speaks of himself as a Christian. He is of good family; a nice, clean, straight fellow. Christ, looking on him, would love him; as would any of His followers. Finally, a rich

[1] Ibid, 1924.

planter in a discussion before many others on the train acknowledged the merits of Christianity ; then added, ' Get me, and you will get five hundred with me.' Later he vigorously protected another who was being beaten for his Christian tendencies, and encouraged him to hold his new faith, telling him that he was in the right way."

Here such questions arise as conditions of baptism. May it be privately administered, or must we always insist on public profession ? What preparation is necessary ? Are there cases where outward conformity to Islamic customs or the demands of home-life may be countenanced ? It is difficult to answer such questions. But when a man has been moved by God's Spirit and earnestly strives to enter in at the strait gate, we ought not to make harder for him what is already hard enough. We ought not to make demands of him which according to the circumstances in which God has placed him he cannot fulfil ; but look to the main point, namely, faith in Christ and prayer-life in Him. We may leave the incidental and external for his own conscience. This surely is the lesson of Elisha's reply to Naaman, the secret of his holy moderation in demands for conformity to the laws of Israel. God will complete His work of grace. The pure in heart will not lose the vision once granted them if they continue to seek God.

Yet the problem remains difficult and requires much prayer. We dare not forget the demands of discipleship. Never were they put more sternly and more plainly than by Christ Himself. " Whosoever shall deny Me before men. . . ." " Except a man forsake all that he hath he cannot be My disciple."

At the first Missionary Conference on behalf of the Mohammedan world, held at Cairo, April 4–9, 1906, one of the topics discussed related to conditions of baptism. And although all present insisted that this holy rite should not be administered to those who were simply intellectually convinced of Christ's Deity and His atoning work, yet it was felt that to demand a public confession involved enormous difficulties. Baptism in private in the presence of a few friends seems to have been the practice in a number of Missions where persecutions or possibly the death penalty might prove the result of public baptism. " To baptize publicly in Damascus or Teheran or Morocco,

where the government is purely Mohammedan and the population ignorant and fanatical, would be a serious mistake. In countries under Christian rule, English, French, German or Dutch, it may be both safe and wise to advise a convert to profess Christ boldly in baptism, as a proof of his sincerity and a testimony to others. The battle for religious liberty must be fought and won at *some* time, but no one can decide for another when that time has come."[1]

A Moslem convert who was present at the Conference abovementioned gave it as his opinion that baptism should not be postponed. It is a means of grace. He quoted the example of Peter with the centurion and Philip with the eunuch. "I see no reason why a Moslem convert should not be baptized as soon as he professes his faith in Christ as the Son of God and a divine Saviour and Redeemer, for it is on this ground that he is baptized."[2] If baptism is postponed too long, even the missionary may regret it. There have been instances where this privilege was withheld for fear of persecution; and yet did not prevent it, or even martyrdom.

A few years ago a young Egyptian came to my study in Cairo and expressed his desire to receive instruction in the Christian faith. He seemed bright and intelligent and apparently belonged to a good family, so that he immediately captivated my interest. I was the more surprised, therefore, when, on asking his name, he pulled out his pocket-book and presented me with a card on which I read, "William Famison." I said: "You are not an Englishman, are you?" He said, "No, but I have changed my name and wish to become a Christian." He then told me that his father held a good position under the Egyptian Government and was an enlightened Moslem, but very devoted to Islam, and deeply grieved that his son had been reading Christian books. He first became interested in the message of the Gospel through some of the illustrated leaflets of the "Nile Mission Press," especially one on "The Black Stone and Rock of Ages," which he carried in his pocket.

We had prayed together, and I advised him to keep on good

[1] *Methods of Mission Work Among Moslems*, p. 146.
[2] Ibid. p. 151.

terms with his father if possible. This, he said, was very difficult, and a few weeks later he came and told me that an attempt had been made on his life by his own people. He showed me a knife which he was carrying to protect himself. I read with him that part of the Sermon on the Mount which speaks of loving our enemies and of non-resistance, and told him it were better to die than to resist those who attacked him only for his religion. He was persuaded to leave the knife with me, and after a few weeks said that he had no desire any more to use that kind of weapon. He faithfully attended church services and made rapid progress in reading such books as I gave him. From the outset he expressed his ambition to become a preacher of the Gospel, and said he desired to win his own people to the truth. Constantly, however, his face had a haunted look. He was living at home and had to do his reading and praying in secret. One day he came to me greatly excited and said his father had received a letter which he had also seen, and of which he gave me this copy :

CAIRO, *January* 19, 1916.

" DEAR SIR :

" For the love of Islam and Moslems I venture to tell you that your son is about to become a Christian or has already done so, as many assert. Make haste, by Islam and its prophet, and take steps to bring your frivolous son back to his religion or else you will expose him to danger, not because we have any feeling for him, but because we love our religion and desire to defend the honour of the believers. Make haste, by God, the Koran and the Apostle.

" Written by a lover of his religion, an ardent and severe revenger for its sake.

" P.S.—(1) To be certain that you receive this letter I dropped it by my hand into your box during the absence of the door-keeper.

" P.S.—(2) The relation that existed between your son and me caused me to tell you this. That you may be assured that I am telling the truth I would say that he goes daily to the house of the accursed Zwemer. He has gone to the American Mission also and spent a day with the Theological students.

Then he went out accompanied by a cursed Christian, whose name I learn to be S—— F——."

After receiving this letter we both felt that it was the part of wisdom that he should leave Cairo. I thought he might find work as a teacher or tutor of the new missionaries at Assiut, and so, with a glad heart, and yet with many misgivings as to his family, he left for upper Egypt. William was twenty years of age, and so I felt that, not only according to Moslem law, but in every other way, he was entitled to choose for himself.

At Assiut he secured work as teacher, but this did not satisfy him. He tried to fit himself for baptism, was bold in confessing Christ and made friends both among Moslems and Christians in quite a remarkable way. In one of his letters he wrote in English as follows (this letter is typical of his style and of what he was trying to do) :

ASSIUT COLLEGE,
November 5, 1916.

"DEAR DOCTOR :

"I humbly ask apology for my delay in answering your last letter dated 1st inst. There happened two things that depressed on my idle time. The first concerns that Moslem whom you met here in Church after service. The second is my trying to find work in the Oases whatever the temperature may be.

"But as for the Moslem, I dare say he is one of the most intelligent and pious young men I have ever seen. I accompanied him to a native café and there stayed from 9.40 a.m. until 2 p.m. In the course of this period we discussed Christianity and Islam until I overcame him generously. While we were talking he meditated a moment and then stood up quickly and asked to go to a certain place and come back soon. After nearly five minutes he came back accompanying a sheikh teacher of the——, with whom I conversed for nearly an hour or more, in the course of which I prevailed on him, which circumstance caused him to apologize and go. I am sorry to tell you that he asked me to explain to him, but I could hardly convince him perfectly, although I mentioned —— and others ; so please explain the former to me.

"Our Moslem asked me to pay him a visit in his house ; but

No. 14 15 Juli 1922 Tahoen ke VIII

MEDAN-MOESLIMIN.

Tempat goena memboeka soearanja kaoem moeslimin diseloeroeh HINDIA NEDERLAND.

Keloear tiap-tiap tanggal 1 dan 15 boelan Ollanda.

Harga lenggahan 3 boelan f 1,50. 6 boelan f 2,50 | Bajar lebih doeloe.
1 tahoen f 4,50. Boeat loear Hindia Nederland f 5,50

KATRANGAN.

Soerat-soerat karangan soepaja dialamatkan pada Redactie, keperloean lain-lainnja soepaja dialamatkan pada Directie.

ADRES BUREAU MEDAN MOESLIMIN SOLO.

Orang Boemi poetera Djawa 29.715.908, jang berigama Islam: 29.605.000 orang. Jang kesasar dalam Kristen 24.663, wadjiblah orang Islam memikirkan jang kesasar itoe.

COVER PAGE OF A MALAY MOSLEM MAGAZINE, published at Solo, Java; July 15th, 1922.

The text reads: "The total population of Java is 29,715,908. Of these 29,605,000 are Moslems; 24,663 have become Christians. We must put an end to this apostasy."

I answered the purpose accompanying the fellow who introduced the Moslem to you in church. I found there a junior brother and two seniors as well as a friend of theirs. We began conversation about intercession and crucifixion, but I heartily thank God for my victory, the circumstance that compelled the friend of the opponent to strongly ask me to pay him a visit the next day in his house there in the middle of the native districts. You know that that friend called A—— A—— invited my companion, L. D., too. The next day I called B—— and reminded him of the promise but, alas, he refused for fear of any expected harm from those Moslems and so I went accompanying God's Might. At 5 p.m. I was at the door of A. K., who came out and took me into a large room in which I found two sheikhs, an engineer, another carrying the Bible, our Moslem of the Church and his brother and three other Effendies. I think they are employees. I entered and saluted them and shook hands with every one. We started from 5 p.m. until 10.10 p.m. We discussed nearly every fundamental point irregularly according to their irregular character. When they failed, they began to mock and make fun of me and my false religion, as they say. My Moslem of the Church cut the conversation quite soon and rebuked them, later on they would have done wrong. We then separated. When I see I will tell you some important things about this meeting. Now I often meet my Moslem and have many long chats with him. In reality, I love him very much for he is wise and impartial.

" Now let us go back and speak about me. You know that I have no relation with anyone in Alexandria as well as with that missionary. I am ready to do any work, even an interpreter, but remember my will to be a missionary and also that the school-year will be over on the 18th inst. I can stay some days in Cairo on condition that I never leave the room except late at night. Do you agree ? I pray to God day and night so that you may consider me as one of your humble boys and not a foreigner come to ask for refuge and help. Don't you know that you alone are my family, friends and relatives ? Oh ! I beg you to remember this please. I'm expecting a long letter soon.

" I remain, yours obediently,

" WM. FAMISON."

The last paragraph in this letter requires a word of explanation. I was hoping to find him permanent work in Alexandria, but he preferred to be at a greater distance from Cairo.

When I visited Assiut in the spring of 1916, William was delighted and welcomed me as a son would a father. The delight of meeting seemed to have so excited him, however, that early on a Sunday morning at two o'clock he came running from the college building to the place where I was staying and said that he had seen a vision (or had a dream) in which Christ appeared to him wrapped in white, and said: "You must preach to the Moslems," and that he felt he must come instantly and tell me of it. When he had talked and prayed he slept in my room, and the next morning went about his duties as usual; but there is no doubt that the dream had made a deep impression upon his mind. As I refused to give him any financial aid and always advised him to work for his own support, he made friends with one of the Christians at Assiut, and when the college closed, worked, in company with others, at a Y.M.C.A. Canteen in the Kharga Oasis. He wrote at that time:

"I felt very ashamed of myself for ceasing writing to you since a long time, although I have been confined to bed exactly after leaving Assiut. Can I apologize? Am still feeling unwell because of the excessive heat.

"I left Assiut on the 29th of May for Markaz el Sherika and suffered the greatest trouble since then, especially in the last few days. I did not hear from my family for a very long time and for this am anxious to know all about them.

"Hoping to hear from you soon,

"Yours truly,

"WILLIAM."

The summer was indeed trying for one who had been brought up, as Egyptian young men are, without work, sitting in the cafés and having a "good time," but William never flinched. At one time he wrote to me:

"Everyone on this little globe of earth is exposed to the world's sufferings and temptations, either God's or devil's; but the hero is he who knows a word called 'endurance.' That is, he must persist and struggle for victory. Life is but strife.

"I venture to say that the success of a man depends upon temperament and faith notwithstanding the sayings of others, as no one in the whole world is able to please all the people of the world.

"God only knows how I behave, and as long as I pray, read the Bible, and live a pure Christian daily life, I give up almost caring entirely for the different opinions of others. No one can point out the right way to God. If you remember that I ever disappointed or disobeyed you, be sure that what you heard is true or that I am to blame. When I was newly put into touch with you, you were a foreigner to me as well as all who are here. The reason is that you are accustomed to treat others as sons or brethren."

Again he speaks of his future, and of his desire to find a place where he would be safe. He wrote:

"In regard to returning to Cairo and settling in it I can tell you plainly that this is beyond my power as long as I live with you. You know well that I introduced myself to you to shelter and strengthen me as well as to advise me; for this I started to Assiut, escaping persecution. Then how can I come back to Cairo? It is undoubtedly true that I must be back at Cairo when I am unable to find a vacancy far away. In this circumstance I will be exposed to a great many dangers the least of which to live among a Mohammedan family again, the thing I abhor.

"Of course I will yield and bear bitter persecution uncompared with the previous; as I am powerless to withstand such fanatic and severe people. . . . My religion or rather worship is encircled in (1) Studying the Bible, (2) Prayer, (3) Dealing with others according to the Bible; notwithstanding trifles." (He means contradictions.)

Finally he determined to come to Cairo. As soon as he arrived he went to his father, and, as far as I know, they were reconciled to the fact that he had become a Christian, for he told me that his father had taken the Oath of Divorce, which is one of the strongest oaths, that he would not hurt his son or attempt to interfere with his attendance at Christian services.

It was at this time that he made definite application to join a class of evangelists at the Theological Seminary of the

American Mission. He was even anxious to enter the theological classes, so keen was he on devoting his life to the work of preaching. Time and again he brought other Moslems to see me, and was never happier than when he sent inquirers and we engaged in prayer together. Owing to the shortness of his stay at Assiut, the pastor of the church there had not deemed it wise to receive him for baptism, although this was his earnest desire. There were obstacles in the way to his joining the regular seminary classes. According to ecclesiastical order, it seemed almost an absurdity to have an unbaptized Moslem, although he professed to be a Christian, study theology. I, therefore, advised him to wait another year and to find some work. He made application to one of the government departments and was on the eve of receiving an appointment as interpreter with the British Army for Mesopotamia. On November 29 he came to me with this good news, and said: "Now you will surely baptize me before I start on my long journey." I assured him that I would. We had prayed together, and he left very happy. The next news I received was through a Christian friend who came on Saturday morning, December 2, saying that William had met with a tramway accident. Street traffic in Cairo is often so badly regulated that accidents are frequent, but we were all shocked when we heard the news. It was confirmed by the newspaper the following day, which stated that a young student, aged 21, was coming down from Heliopolis to Abbassia on Thursday evening at eight o'clock. He descended from the car on the wrong side, was hit by another car coming from the opposite direction and thrown on the sidewalk with bruises on his head. A policeman arrived immediately on the spot, and, instead of calling for assistance, he took the unfortunate youth to the police station where a full "proces verbal" was made. From the police station the youth was taken to the Cairo Governorate to be visited by the medical officer of the police. He had to wait there some time before the doctor made his appearance, and another cross-examination followed similar to that made at the police station. He was at last sent home about 11 p.m., without any medical assistance being given him.

Two days after the "accident" I received a telephone

message from a young Copt, a mutual friend who raised the question whether William had been killed in an accident or whether his death was due to foul play. It is not necessary to give details, but when we visited the Chief of Police, he admitted that there was every indication that the " accident " had been arranged by those who preferred to have him die as a Moslem rather than confess Christ openly. During the war, conditions were such in Cairo that any further investigation of such a case would have been unwise. I am convinced that William Famison died a martyr, and that those who had a hand in his death were " foes of his own household."

Two weeks before his death he came to me with a beautiful poem, written in Arabic, on the character of Jesus, which he begged me to print in our Christian Arabic paper. The short story of his life gives encouragement. A number of his friends were led to study the Scriptures through William's bold witnessing. Only two days after the accident one of his Moslem friends came and gave me a comforting letter, as he expressed it, to console my heart at the great loss.

The young men of Egypt were never more ripe for personal evangelism than they are to-day ; they have lost their grip on the old faith of their fathers, and are both morally and intellectually adrift. Modern education is preparing the way for agnosticism and unbelief unless we forestall this result by the message of the living Christ.

Is it not a rebuke to our apathy and to the weakness of our forces that a Moslem should baptize himself with a new name and bear witness to Christ even before he entered the circle of missionary influence ? " Say not ye, there are yet four months, and *then* cometh the harvest ? Behold, I say unto you, lift up your eyes, and look on the fields ; for they are white already to harvest."

As in Egypt so in Turkey there are seekers after God.

We owe the following account of the confessions of two Turkish mollahs to Dr. Johannes Lepsius of Potsdam, Germany. " Our forefathers sprang from the conqueror of Rumelia. Our own father left the world and gave himself day and night to religious meditation. To him were vouchsafed remarkable signs and miracles of grace. He left us no earthly possessions,

but we cannot thank him enough, for he turned our course to the quest for truth. We are unmarried, and have never engaged in worldly occupations, having devoted ourselves to searching after truth.

" In the name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost. Lord God, King of worlds, Thou Who art lifted above time and space, the source of all and in truth our Father, take from our eyes and from those of Thy other children the veil of deep ignorance, that our hearts may rejoice in the knowledge of the truth which Thine only begotten Son, our Lord Christ, has revealed. Make dear to the hearts of all men the glorious teaching of Thy holy gospel that they all may have a share in its blessings and may be one in spirit and belief ; that they may live and walk in the light of Thy glory. Amen.

" I, Kuth Oghlu Sheikh Achmed Keschaf, was born in 1864. For many years I studied and then became a soldier. When the Turkish troops were called out against Greece I was appointed chaplain in the second battalion of the 18th Regiment of Reserves. After the war I returned home to undertake with my brother thorough investigations as to what the real truth was. We became convinced that it was the religion of Christ. This we freely preached among the Moslems of our land, awakening their violent hostility. We were obliged to leave our home country and set out for Arabia. On the journey my brother preached for some time in the mosques of Eskidhe and Gornuldhene.

" In the Hissar Mosque of Smyrna he zealously taught the holy gospel. That he could preach daily four or five hours without notes called forth the greatest astonishment and admiration. It was said that such learning could not be the fruit of study, but must be God-given. From all other mosques the multitudes streamed to him. The other mollahs were envious. They saw that his teaching would destroy the foundations of Islam, for he exposed the weakness and falsity of the Koran in a way that proved its utter perversity. None of his hearers could fail to realize that Mohammed was a false prophet, that his miracles were spurious, that the stories about his watering the earth with his fingers or splitting the moon were pure fables. He set forth mighty proofs that neither the Koran nor Moslem

traditions were trustworthy. Then he passed to the Moslem view of Christians. These he said were not *Kafirs*. It was folly and nonsense to hold them to be lost souls. Moslems must be friendly with them, for there were no grounds for hatred. The New Testament was a beautiful, useful and holy book.

"Great numbers, as a consequence of this teaching, found their faith in the Koran destroyed. To the numerous learned mollahs in his audience he would turn with the challenge: 'If my words are false disprove them. Then you will see how many additional arguments against your views I can produce.' But they feared to take up the gauntlet and many who were taught in modern knowledge said, 'The words of the young Rumelian preacher are true.'

"After a time he was threatened by fanatics. Then he stopped preaching. But great crowds assembled and waited hours in the hope of his reappearance. A fanatic arose and cried out: 'Why wait ye on this preacher? Have ye not heard all he spoke against Islam? It is written in the books, "When the Lord of Time, Imam Madhi, shall come then will all Moslems in the world unite and fall on the Christians." Then there shall be but one religion in the world. But the preacher denies all this. He has taken away from us our courage and hope of a future victory.'

"Numerous refugees from Crete, Russia, Bulgaria, Bosnia and Herzogovina were present at the meetings. They said: 'Alas! We have left our homes because of the Christians, enemies of our faith. We await Imam Mahdi, sword in hand, to lead us back and to revenge us on our enemies.' Then arose a Bosnian, Hadji Mustafa, and cried out: 'Where is the preacher? I will hew him down and send his soul to hell.'

"'The two brothers from Rumelia are Kafirs,' said a Mudarris (religious teacher) from Magnesia named Sabri Effendi, 'and whoever denies it is a Kafir himself. They deny that a man named Judas took the form of Jesus and was crucified in His stead; they deny that Gabriel in the shape of an Arab boy revealed the Koran to Mohammed; they deny that Mohammed's footstep left an imprint on a stone in Jerusalem; they deny that the earth is 500 years' journey in length and that it is seven storied and that oxen bear up these

stories. They deny that in paradise are *Huris* and *Ghilman*, marrying and feasting. They deny that Jesus in the last day will come from heaven, die, and be buried in the grave of Mohammed. They have said a thousand things against the Koran and are apostates.'

" The people, however, gathered around my brother to such an extent that the government, fearing a mass movement to Christianity, put us on a steamer and sent us to Mecca into banishment. But we did not cease to preach Christ and won many to a knowledge of the truth. When freedom was proclaimed we came back to Salonika. In Adrianople my brother preached during the thirty days of the Ramadan (the Moslem Lent), each day for five hours in the Altan Mosque. In his sermons he explained and proved Christian truth on the grounds of reason and science. Many were convinced. Later we travelled to Philippopel in Bulgaria, to make open confession of our Christian faith.

" ' We have,' writes the brother, ' worked through hundreds of books to get at the truth. We have examined every word in the Koran and the Hadith with the greatest care, and have detected numberless errors. We saw that it was wrong to continue Moslems. We have both therefore accepted Christ. We hope to lead our people to the same end and are preparing to publish much for this purpose. We have seen in our journeys in Rumelia, Anatolia, and Arabia that the Moslem learned ones have always been put to silence. We confess our weakness, but are determined to work with what we have to wake the children of Islam out of error.'

" (Signed) SHEIK ACHMED KESCHAF,
SHEIK MOHAMMED NESSENDI."

A German missionary tells of his experiences in the days before the world war among Moslems in the Sudan and in Palestine. He enumerates several instances of " hidden disciples " who dared not openly confess Christ.

" On a thirty days' missionary journey by camel through two provinces of the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan in the autumn of 1913, our Nubian evangelist and I arrived at K——, and were heartily welcomed by the Ma'mur who invited us to meet him

MAKHAIL MANSUR.

A converted Moslem Sheikh, graduated from the Azhar, and for twenty-two years a bold preacher of Jesus Christ. His outspoken candour and moral courage seemed to protect him from persecution, although he was often threatened.

and his friends that evening at the so-called ' club ' under the palm trees. We accepted the invitation and talked on religious subjects for almost three hours. Our friend, the Ma'mur, was most interested, as he had studied religious and scientific questions. Finally, he told us that he was convinced that Jesus Christ is the Son of God in a figurative way, and that He has become a Saviour of men and of Moslems. Then, while all listened attentively, we sketched the whole life of Jesus Christ ; and when we had finished, all were deeply impressed by our Lord's life and atonement. When we left K——, we gave the Ma'mur a New Testament ; and later he wrote us that he had studied it day and night and was confident that Jesus Christ is the true and only Light. Amongst the Bishareen tribe there is a mother and daughter who earn their bread by keeping cattle. One day they came to our dispensary at A—— ; and while the girl's eyes were being treated she heard Bible teaching for the first time in her life. She listened so attentively that the following day, when her turn came, she repeated the Bible story she had heard word for word. Later she lost her eyesight, but her inner eyes were opened. By means of Arabic type for the blind, she learned to read the Gospel and to give her testimonies to patients in the hospital. She was really a converted girl, but her mother would never agree to her baptism for fear the tribesmen would kill her. A Nubian Sheikh of high position, has been coming regularly to our Mission. He is very anxious to know more about the Gospel, and has even acknowledged some of the essential doctrines ; but he is a ' Nicodemus-soul ' who does not dare to confess Christ openly, as he would lose caste. In a little mountain village of Palestine, whose inhabitants are predominantly Mohammedans, a young Syrian-Arab told us that he had married a Christian girl and that he himself was inclined to accept Christ ; but that he would never dare to confess Him openly as he feared the results from the bigoted Moslems of his village."

More than twenty-six years ago I received a letter written in Mecca but post-marked at Aden and addressed to me at Bahrein, asking me to send a Bible dictionary and a Bible commentary to the writer who lived in Mecca and whose brother carried on business at Aden. Similar cases of the word of God

finding eager readers in isolated places are given in the reports of the Bible societies. In 1914, Mr. C. T. Hooper, of the British and Foreign Bible Society, and I made a journey down the Red Sea to Jidda to open a Bible depôt. On our return we landed at Yembo, the port of Medina. At first there was considerable difficulty about our landing. We were told that Hejaz was sacred soil and no Christians were allowed to land. Suddenly one man in the curious crowd that gathered around the jetty interceded for us, and said, " They *shall* land because they are my guests." He made a way for us through the crowded, narrow streets, invited us to his home, and, after the usual Arab hospitality, said that he was a secret believer in Christ. " Call me not Mohammed," said he, " my name is Ghergis " (George). We said, " How can your name be Ghergis when you are of Moslem parentage and living here among Mohammedans ? " He showed us his Bible, and then told us how, after reading Matthew's Gospel, he had baptized himself in obedience to the command of Christ before he ever met a missionary or a Christian worker ! Afterwards this man proved his faith by his works ; not only by kindness shown to strangers, but by his willingness to distribute Gospels and Christian books sent to him by post. During the war we utterly lost trace of him.

I shall never forget my experience with a Circassian officer in the Turkish army who accompanied our caravan into the interior of Arabia in 1897, at the time of my first visit to Hassa. During the first halt on our journey I was called to see him, his friends telling me that he was suffering greatly from dysentery. I found him nigh unto death. As soon as I sat by his side, he said, " I am not anxious to have you give me remedies for my disease because it is too late ; but I wish you to show me the way Home." Then, reaching under his pillow in the tent, he handed me an Arabic Testament, which he said he had found in the home of one of the Christians at the time of one of the Armenian massacres. This book had been his constant companion, and he begged me to read him a message and to offer prayer. His mother and daughter listened to his confession and were cordial in their gratitude to me. The next morning there was a hasty Moslem funeral. The Imam of the caravan muttered the usual prayers, and when we moved on, a low

mound of sand in the desert was all that remained to testify of this secret believer in our Lord.

Miss Dora J. Snelson of the Church Missionary Society at Meerut, India, gives the following touching story of another secret disciple. " One day last year an Indian Christian lady asked me to go with her to see a Mohammedan neighbour whom she had been visiting, and who was anxious to become a Christian. When we reached the house, we were taken to a room where a beautiful woman was sitting with her brother and his wife. After the usual introductions, the brother explained the reason of their wish to see me. Briefly told, his story was as follows : ' Long ago, when we lived in Lahore, we gave permission for a Christian missionary to come to the house to teach my sister to read. It was an ordinary thing ; many girls were being taught in this way. My sister learned very quickly. After some time we discovered to our alarm that she was taking too much interest in the religious part of her lessons, and we forbade the visits of the missionary. But the seed had been sown only too well. Left alone, my sister's faith in this new religion only grew stronger and stronger. I did not know what to do. She was like a bit of myself, for I had brought her up. She had been my mother's legacy to me and my elder brother. And now here she was, practically a Christian. Then I began persecution. I starved her ; I locked her up for days together. Look at her now—her weakness and her loss of flesh are due to my treatment of her. But nothing shook her determination to be a Christian. At last, strenuously as she opposed it, we made a marriage arrangement for her, and it was carried out. But very soon her husband returned her to us, saying that he did not intend to keep her, as she was a Christian. It was an added disgrace to us to have a deserted wife on our hands. The very intensity of our love for our sister made us renew our persecutions in order to induce her to come back to her own faith. But all to no purpose. Patiently she endured all the indignity and the ridicule and the suffering. Months before this we had destroyed all her Christian books, so she had nothing to encourage her in this obstinacy. Now I have to own myself beaten. We can fight no longer, and my brother and I have decided to let her have her way and be admitted into your faith ;

but on certain conditions. Her baptism must be kept as secret as possible, so that no further disgrace can attach itself to our good name. After she is baptized you must not induce her to leave home ; she must return and live as usual, keeping her seclusion just as she has always done.'

" An evening or two later she came, and she corroborated all that the brother had told me, and also revealed the depth of her love to her Saviour. There was no doubt that she had been deeply taught of the Holy Spirit. Thus began her definite preparation for baptism. Two or three times she whispered : ' This is the first step ; I shall come right out some day.' Her brothers visited me, to insist that all the arrangements for the baptism should be as private as possible, and they promised to attend the service themselves. On the day of the baptism her two brothers brought her in a closed carriage to the school. The brothers walked to our little mission church and a Christian friend went with the sister and myself in the carriage. The sister was closely veiled all the time. She told me that her brothers were taking her away that evening for a visit to relatives, where the lady of the house was also a secret believer in Christ. I gave her the address of our missionaries in the place. I have never seen her since the day of her baptism. She has not returned to Meerut, and she has for the time being disappeared. Is it that God has provided for her some ' better thing ' than remaining in contact with us ? Some day we shall understand." [1]

Giovanni Papini says in his wonderful book, *The Story of Christ* : " It was not by chance that Jesus chose His first followers among fishermen. The fisherman who spends the greater part of his days in solitude and encompassed by pure waters *is the man who knows how to wait.* He is the man of patience who is not pressed for time ; who casts his net and leaves the rest to the Almighty." This is the great lesson all missionaries among Moslems have to learn. The patience of unrewarded toil, the patience of unanswered prayer, the patience of waiting for results always invisible *except to the eye of faith.* A Swedish lady who has done brave pioneer work among out-cast Moslem girls at Port Said, and has gathered

[1] *Church Missionary Outlook*, September 1, 1922.

over a hundred of them into a Christian school, where some confessed and afterwards seemed to grow cold, hopes on: "We have, I believe, no real reason to think that they have altogether forsaken Christ. There were those in Israel who had not bowed their knees to Baal—yet Elijah did not know them. I am sorry I cannot tell you anything more definite. Personally I have an assurance that the Lord Jesus is going to find *many* on that day when He makes up His jewels."

Mary Caroline Holmes, for many years a missionary in the Near East, gives such remarkable testimony regarding these hidden disciples that we condense what she wrote in the *Moslem World* (April, 1923) on this subject. "Perhaps to many it will come as a surprise that these hidden believers are in such numbers that they have an organization with a supreme head residing in a certain city, to whom I once had a letter of introduction, but unfortunately did not find him at home when I called to present it. But these believers find each other wherever they go by means of a key-word upon which I stumbled one day, and which I have used many times, and thus discovered other Jesus-lovers in Islam. A rug merchant exclaimed at one of their secret meetings which I was invited to attend, 'Of a truth thou art our sister,' after satisfying himself that I had understood the very beautiful hymn they had sung. that little group of believers behind the locked door, all about the broken bread and poured out wine, symbolic of the sacrifice on Calvary. 'Thou art the first to understand us. We are *Christian* Christians,' he continued with a look of conviction and exaltation. I sat in that meeting scarcely able to credit my senses, and witnessed a fervour of devotion rarely seen, an orderly type of worship, hymns, Christian hymns used only by themselves, and sung from memory throbbing with love for the Saviour of men. And women were there, Moslem women addressed as 'sisters' and unveiled!

"'Are there others like you?' I queried, incredulous. 'Many,' was the reply. 'And where?' I next asked. 'Everywhere!' was the answer. I knew one of those present, a Government official, has been expelled from one of their sacred cities, and he was a Turk, because his religious attitude did not satisfy every one. This had happened some years previously,

and he had found his Saviour away up in old Turkestan, whither he had gone to get away from the appeal from Jesus, Who won him in the end. He came week after week to talk religion with us, puzzling me by the very evident knowledge he had of Christianity and of the Bible, for as yet I had not learned to spot these hidden disciples. But one day when he asserted there was but one *Nur al 'alam* (Light of the World), I asked, 'Do you mean that as I do? You know I believe, too, there is but one Light of the world, the Lord Jesus Christ.' 'I mean just what you do,' was his simple answer. I once saw him pick up from the ground a fragment of bread some careless hand had dropped, carefully wipe from it every trace of soil, and then reverently kiss it, saying as he did so, 'I never can see bread on the ground to be trodden under foot. Our Lord said of bread, "This is My body broken for you." It is sacred to me.'

"And the candy-seller who lived among little children, to whom he sold his sweets. Never can I forget his words, ringing, clear, and with strong conviction as he asked me, as though to satisfy himself that I was a true believer in Jesus, '*Ya Sitt*, have you ever seen Him?' 'Whom do you mean?' I enquired. 'Jesus. Have you ever seen Him?' I knew I was disappointing his simple faith when I said, 'No, only with the eye of faith,' 'No, no, not that way. With *these* eyes, *these* eyes I have seen Him,' uttered with such conviction, such assurance, that I felt, somehow, I had missed something very wonderful in my Christian experience. And he is not alone in his belief that Jesus visits these hidden believers in bodily presence. Every one of them will tell you that he has had a vision of the Christ. And who am I to say it is not true? Such a knowledge of the Scriptures as they have would put many a one to shame who was born and reared in the Church, so to speak. The majority of those I have known found Him through the study of the Word, and not because of direct missionary activity. As an example, take the grave, long-robed official, who as he walked the deck of a steamer on which I was travelling, when he came near where I was sitting, without turning his head or glancing in my direction, quoted a verse from the Bible and continued his walk. But I understood and knew what he wanted, and when I saw him standing apart, waiting, I approached and made

friends with him through the Book ; and such an exposition of Holy Scriptures as followed, book, chapter and verse accurately quoted and well understood by this seemingly devout Moslem, who in reality was an ardent adorer of our Lord. He told me that he was sent as a young man to Al Azhar, the great Moslem university in Cairo, where he lost all faith, even in the existence of God Himself. 'But,' he added, 'I was the most unhappy of men, and finally I cleared my room of everything but a mat upon which I seated myself, and raising imploring hands to heaven, I cried, "Oh God ! If there be a God, reveal Thyself to me." Then I took the Bible, not the Koran, and found not only my God, but my Saviour as well.'

"Many of these secret believers are from the higher walks of life, like the two officials mentioned, and a Pasha whom I saw when making a round of calls during one of the great Moslem feasts. There were two brothers present, one a Pasha, and member of the old Ottoman Parliament, the other the Governor of an important province. The Pasha, being the elder, took the lead in the conversation, and suddenly began to speak in perfect English on religious subjects. There were not less than twenty other Moslem men present, all relatives, and the Pasha was speaking with such earnestness and conviction, that I turned the conversation back into the Arabic that the others might have the benefit of it, and said, 'You appear to know our Book,' for even in English he had quoted freely from it. 'I know it very well,' he replied. 'I have made a profound study of it,' mentioning certain missionaries to whom he had turned for guidance in his studies. 'You never found anything bad in it, did you ? ' I inquired. 'On the contrary, I found but one theme, like a scarlet thread, running through the entire Book, beginning in Genesis and ending in the third verse of the Seventeenth Chapter of the Gospel according to St. John, "And this is life eternal, that they might know Thee, the only true God, and Jesus Christ whom Thou hast sent." That is what the whole Bible teaches, and to have eternal life is to know our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ,' using the Christian phraseology, not the Moslem." Miss Holmes finally tells of a young lad who learned to love Jesus at school, but was restrained from any public confession. "In his second year at college he was

stricken with typhoid fever, and although he seemed to get better, a relapse came and it was soon evident that he was leaving us. He seemed to realize his condition, for he prayed constantly to Jesus in the presence of his family, and without opposition from them. His mother, perhaps the most remarkable Moslem women I know, did say to him once, but with no show of anger, 'Oh, my son, pray to our saints. Pray to Ali and Mohammed.' 'No, mother,' the dying boy replied, 'I want Jesus and Jesus only.' When the end came, he suddenly lifted his arms as though welcoming someone near and dear, crying, 'Yes, dear Jesus, I see You. I am coming,' and passed to be for ever with Him he had secretly loved and openly acknowledged at the last. And there are those who tell us no Moslem is ever really converted!"

Do not these hidden disciples in these many lands make a strong appeal for intercession?

CHAPTER VI.

THE DAWN OF A NEW ERA

" Western influence also is responsible for the presence of Christian missionaries, and for the abrogation of the death penalty to which an apostate from Islam was formerly liable, both matters which may be explained by the principle of toleration, but which seem to indicate a pro-Christian attitude on the part of the Western powers."

O'Leary, in *Islam at the Cross Roads.*

" The words of the Prophet are final ; There shall be no interference with their (Christian) faith, or their observances : nor any change in their rights and privileges. *So runs the charter given by the Prophet to the Christians of the Najran, and its terms are such as to leave no shadow of a right for a Moslem ruler to interfere with the personal or religious liberty of his non-Moslem subjects. The Turkish Sultan cannot disregard this charter as successor to the Prophet and I cannot conceive what these much-talked-of Christian minorities can, in reason, demand from the Turks more than the rights and privileges that came within the purview of the charter."*

Kemal-ud-Din, in *The Islamic Review.*

CHAPTER VI.

The Dawn of a New Era.

The battle for religious liberty, freedom of conscience and worship has been age-long and world-wide. Christianity itself has suffered during this struggle ; witness the Inquisition, the Crusades and the persecutions of the Middle Ages, as well as the condition of those countries nominally Christian where these great blessings do not yet obtain for all sorts and conditions of men. Bacon in one of his essays says that there were "four areas in which it was hard to reconcile sovereignty with liberty ; namely, religion, justice, counsel and treasure." Christianity no less than Islam has sometimes failed to solve the difficulty. Religious liberty was purchased at so great a price in the Protestant lands of Europe and America that the principle of religious tolerance is one of our most cherished ideals. The coloured races under British rule in Africa remember the proclamation made by Queen Victoria, when a constitution was granted to Natal in 1842. " There shall not in the eye of the law be any distinction of persons, or disqualification of colour, origin, language or creed ; but the protection of the law in letter and in substance shall be extended to all alike." At an earlier date, in 1833, the Government of India Act declared, " No person by reason of his birth, creed or colour shall be disqualified from holding any office," and the Directors of the East India Company in transmitting it to their Agents in India, sent out elaborate instructions in order that " its full spirit and intention might be transfused through the whole system of administration." And they declared that they understood the meaning of the enactment to be that there should be " no governing caste in India ; that whatever other tests or qualifications might be adopted, distinctions of race or religion should not be of the number ; that no subject of the king, whether of Indian or British or mixed descent should be excluded from any post in the covenanted or uncovenanted service."

The Queen's proclamation after the Mutiny in India set forth

most admirably the right attitude of Western governments toward those of other than the Christian faith ; " Firmly relying ourselves on the truth of Christianity, and acknowledging with gratitude the solace of religion, we disclaim alike the right and desire to impose our convictions on any of our subjects." The terms of the proclamation proceeded : " We declare it to be our royal will and pleasure that none be in any wise favoured, none molested or disquieted, by reason of their religious faith or observances, but that all shall alike enjoy the equal and impartial protection of the law ; and we do strictly charge and enjoin all those who may be in authority under us that they abstain from all interference with the religious belief or worship of any of our subjects on pain of our highest displeasure. And it is our further will that, so far as may be, our subjects, of whatever race or creed, be freely and impartially admitted to offices in our service, the duties of which they may be qualified by their education, ability, and integrity duly to discharge."

Based on these principles the sections of Moslem law which infringe the rights of those who are no longer Moslems, have in India been considered abrogated. A Caste Disabilities Removal Act was passed in 1850. It reads as follows : " *An Act for extending the principle of Section 9, Regulation VII of 1832 of the Bengal Code, throughout the Territories subject to the Government of the East India Company.*

" Whereas it is enacted by Section 9, Regulation VII, 1832, of the Bengal Code, that whenever in any civil suit the parties to such suit may be of different persuasions, when one party shall be of the Hindu and the other of the Mohammedan persuasions : or when one or more of the parties to the suit shall not be either of the Mohammedan or Hindu persuasions : the laws of those religions shall not be permitted to operate to deprive such party or parties of any property to which, but for the operation of such laws, they would have been entitled ; and whereas it would be beneficial to extend the principle of that enactment throughout the territories subject to the government of the East India Company ; it is enacted as follows :

" So much of any law or usage now in force within the territories subject to the Government of the East India Com-

pany, as inflicts on any person forfeiture of rights or property or may be held in any way to impair or affect any right of inheritance, by reason of his or her renouncing, or having been excluded from, the communion of any religion, or being deprived of caste, shall cease to be enforced as law in the Courts of the East India Company, and in the Courts established by Royal Charter within the said territories."

" It has been held with reference to Bombay Regulation IV of 1827, that the term ' caste ' is not restricted to Hindus. It comprises any well-defined native community governed for certain internal purposes by its own rules and regulations. Act XII of 1887, Section 37, mentions questions regarding *caste* amongst those which have to be decided in accordance with Mohammedan law."[1] This Act should therefore leave no question as to the legal rights of Moslem converts in India. The following letter, however, which appeared in the *Leader* of Allahabad, May 31st, 1924, is interesting in this connection, as it shows that in the Native state of Bhopal the law of apostasy is still a power.

"A sensation, initiated unfortunately from Delhi, has been created over a law of apostasy supposed to have been recently enacted in Bhopal, presumably for the purpose of insulating the state against the Shuddhi movement. A week back I was in Bhopal, and made careful enquiries into the allegations appearing in the press. There certainly is what may be called a law of apostasy in Bhopal, but the devotees of local antiquities who alone could have dug it out of its peaceful oblivion, while communicating the result of their researches obviously missed to supplement the information with the undoubted fact that the law is as old as the state itself, and that no single instance of its having been enforced can be found. It is regrettable that communal disputes should be introduced even into native states. It is especially unfortunate that Bhopal of all states should have been singled out for so much attention. Bhopal's record in the matter of religious toleration is spotless. There are grants, not only for mosques, but also for temples and churches. Preferential treatment of one community at the

[1] *Principles of Mohammedan Law*, by F. B. Tyabji (Bombay, 1913), pp. 30, 31.

expense of the other is foreign to the state. The relations between the Hindus and Mussulmans and the state are worthy of serving as an example to us."

It has been pointed out that the attitude of all Western governments toward Islam is one of the most difficult and delicate problems of colonial politics. When the matter was discussed at the Edinburgh Missionary Conference (1910), the following resolution, characterized by great timidity, was passed: "It is not singular that, in the effort to give to Mohammedanism the outward respect due to it in a region peopled by its adherents, the British officials should sometimes 'lean over backward.' But the Commission is of the opinion that in Egypt, the Sudan and Northern Nigeria the restrictions deliberately laid upon Christian mission work, the deference paid to Islam are excessive, and that a respectful remonstrance should be made to the British Government on the subject."[1]

The general policy of Western governments in Africa has of late been modified, and it seems that where formerly Mohammedanism was fostered under the specious plea of toleration and neutrality, there will be a change. The excessive deference for Islam has not proved the wisest policy, even for the secular aims of governments. May we not hope that even as under the new mandatories so, none the less but rather more, in every Colonial possession in Africa a more enlightened and more generous policy will be followed, guaranteeing not only free admission of missionary agencies, but freedom of conscience and of worship to those who desire to accept Christianity.[2]

As Dr. St. Clair Tisdall wrote, "The Christian Churches of the British Empire and of the United States *have a right to demand* that, if English local Governments do not help forward the spread of the Gospel, *at the very least they should no longer be permitted to oppose it*, or to thwart the noble and self-denying efforts of our missionaries, who are devoting their lives to obeying our Divine Lord's last Command, and are doing work which, wherever it has been fairly tested, is acknowledged, even

[1] Cf. J. du Plessis, "Government and Islam in Africa," in the *Moslem World*, vol. xi, p. 2 ff.

[2] Cf. Article on "The British Empire and Islam" in *The East and the West*, April, 1924.

by non-Christians, to have produced the highest mental, moral and spiritual results." [1]

The attitude of the Dutch Government in her extensive Colonial empire was once painfully neutral as regards Islam, but it has been modified by long experience until now it offers a high ideal. As early as 1854 a law was promulgated granting full religious liberty. In translation, Articles 119, 120,123 and 124 read as follows:

> Art. 119.—Every one shall have complete freedom to confess his religious beliefs, subject to the protection of society and its members against infringement of the general ordinances of the penal code.
>
> Art. 120.—All public religious services within buildings or enclosed places shall be permitted in so far as these cause no disturbance of the public order. For public religious services outside buildings and enclosed places the permission of the Government shall be required.
>
> Art. 123.—Christian teachers, priests and missionaries must be provided with a special permission granted by the Governor-General or in his name in order to carry on their work in any particular part of the Dutch Indies. If the permission is found harmful, or the conditions thereof are not fulfilled, it may be withdrawn by the Governor-General.
>
> Art. 124.—Native priests who do not profess the Christian religion shall be under supervision of the princes, rulers and chiefs in so far as concerns the religion which each of them professes. These will make sure that nothing is undertaken by the priests which would be inconsistent with these regulations and with the ordinances promulgated by the Governor-General or in his name. [2]

Under such regulations sixteen Societies carry on a successful work among Moslems, and, as we have seen, the convert is protected.

One reason for the large number of converts from Islam in the Dutch East Indies is undoubtedly the more liberal policy of the Dutch Government in recent years. No less than thirty-nine million subjects in the Dutch colonies profess the faith of Mohammed (that is, about one-sixth of the total population of the Moslem world), and there is no other government, not even excepting Great Britain, which has had a larger experience with

[1] W. St. Clair Tisdall, "Islam and National Responsibility," in the *Moslem World*, vol. v, p. 29.

[2] *Treaties, Acts and Regulations Relating to Missionary Freedom*, p. 80. International Missionary Council (London, 1923).

the Moslem problem and has from time to time modified its policy to meet the exigencies of the situation than has the Dutch Government. Dr. C. Snouck Hurgronje, in his book *Nederland en de Islam*,[1] takes up the question as to the causes and methods of the rapid spread of Islam in Malaysia, and concludes that, although the religious motive was supreme and there were economic and social reasons as co-operative factors, one cannot explain the propagation of the Moslem faith solely on the ground of the preaching of Islam, as does T. W. Arnold, nor as a compulsory economic movement, as do Dr. Becker and the Italian savant Caetani; the chief factor in the spread of Islam was the sword. "The supreme cause for the spread of the faith, both according to the letter and the spirit of the sacred law, must be found in methods of forcible propagandism. The Moslem law considers all non-Moslems as the enemies of the great monarchy of Allah, whose opposition to His rule—which is solely by Moslems—must be broken down." In speaking of the Moslem conception of the *Dar-ul-Islam* and the *Dar-ul-Harb*, Dr. Hurgronje scores Sir William Hunter and other British statesmen for their failure to understand the real significance of the question. The teaching of Jihad, or holy warfare, does not rest, as Professor Arnold insists, on a misunderstanding of certain Koran texts, but it is the teaching of all Moslem jurists for all the past centuries. "The little group of modern Moslems who assert that Islam must only be propagated by preaching and conviction, no more represents the true teaching of their religion in which they were born, than the modernists do the Roman Catholic Church."[2] Dr. Hurgronje admits that the Young Turks, and the followers of the new Islam, desire nothing so much as to relegate Jihad to the museum of antiquities, and yet he makes clear that liberty, equality and fraternity are impossible under Islam to non-Moslems.

In speaking of the relation of the Dutch Colonial Government to Islam, Dr. Hurgronje holds that neutrality as regards dogma and the purely religious portion of jurisprudence is the only safe policy. The Dutch Government cannot afford to discourage pilgrimage to Mecca, even by regulations, in spite of its political and economic evils, and although the sum of five

[1] *Nederland en de Islam* (Leiden, 1911), pp. 7, 8, 9, 12, 20 and 60-77.
[2] Idem.

Staff of the Presbyterian Mission Hospital at Meshed, Persia.
Eight on the Staff are Moslem Converts.

million florins spent by pilgrims every year might be used for a better object. As regards the Moslem law of marriage and inheritance, the question is more difficult. A codification of these laws is undesirable, as many of them are mediaeval and in direct opposition to modern civilization and culture. The Government should therefore allow these laws either to fall into disuse, or by a process of evolution reach a higher standard. Although advocating a policy of neutrality as regards the Moslem faith and its jurisprudence, Dr. Hurgronje is very emphatic in stating that no form of pan-Islamism should be allowed expression in the Dutch colonies. While allowing freedom of worship to all Moslems, the government must oppose all ideas of a universal Caliphate with political power, or of Turkish intrigue in Malaysia. All teaching in regard to Jihad and the Caliphate should be prohibited in Moslem schools as far as possible.

One would imagine that with such an able and learned advocate for a policy of strict neutrality the Dutch Government would never be guilty of favouritism ; and yet Mr. J. Verhoeven points out some articles and regulations of the Dutch Government which are directly opposed to the propagation of Christianity and favour Islam, showing how especially Article 71, by which the social and religious affairs of the natives are put into the hands of the Mohammedan village priest, has hindered missions. He writes, that in Middle and West Java particularly, individuals or families who show any desire for Christian instruction have again and again lost their communal interests in village property because of Article 71. In the case of a widow who was deprived of her legal rights to property solely because three of her children had joined the Christian church, the official reason given was that " No Christian can have a part in the lands belonging to a Mohammedan village." [1]

[1] Cf. *Orgaan der Nederlandsche Zendings Vereeniging*, Feb. 1911. Article by J. Verhoeven : He writes : " Het vreedzaam voortwerken van de verheven beginselen van CHRISTUS wordt in de binnenlanden van *Java* her meest bemoeilijkt door Art 71 van ons Regeeringsreglement. waarbij bepaald wordt dat "alle huishoudelijke belangen "—en deze omvatten *alle* maatschappelijke en godsdienstige belangen van den Inlander—moeten geregeld worden door het dorpsbestuur, waarin de Mohammedaansche dorpspriester als zoodanig zitting heeft en vooral door zijne *dagelijksche* inkomsten óók " de eerste viool bespeelt." Het wel en wee van den vreesachtigen Inlander berust in de hand van dit bestuur, dat onmogelijk kan gecontroleerd worden

Nevertheless, there is complete freedom for the *person* of converts in the Dutch East Indies, and the law of apostasy has become a dead letter. Would that this were the case in all Moslem lands !

The various treaties, acts and regulations that assure a greater or less degree of missionary freedom in British Mandate territory in Africa, e.g. Togoland, Tanganyika, The Cameroons, South-west and South Africa, include in their provisions a large Moslem population. The same is true of French territory in Equatorial Africa, and of Belgian and Portuguese colonies. In nearly every case missionary freedon is guaranteed, and in consequence the life and liberty of converts protected.[1]

While these treaties and concessions to the rights of minorities are a hopeful indication of a new spirit of tolerance and a desire to inagurate religious freedom, there are still two large areas in Africa where the British Government itself has not granted these rights, either to missionaries or to Moslem converts. A missionary writes from the Sudan in 1923 : " Outside of Khartoum and Omdurman there is practically no mission work going on among Moslems. The whole province of Dongola, with a population of 151,849, has no mission schools. During my recent tour there a Mohammedan merchant told me he was ready to give a portion of his land freely to missionaries if they would only start a school. I believe, too, this is the time. Being in and out among the people,I know full well their feelings towards missionaries. They are ready to trust them with the care of their children, and are not objecting in any way to the teaching of the Christian faith. What blocks our entrance to this region is the statute of the Anglo-Egyptian Government."[2] What is this regulation ?

" *No mission station is allowed to be formed north of the tenth parallel of latitude in any part or district of the Sudan which is recognized by the Government as Moslem* " (Regulations, Ch. xix. Sec. i). These conditions still hold to-day, yet Sir Harry Johnstone, writing in 1919 of the missionary policy of the Government, said : " With regard to missionaries of Christian-

door gebrek aan voldoend aantal betrouwbare Europeesche controleerende ambtenaren. Diep ingrijpend is daarom het verschil in de levensomstandigheden van den bewoner van Particuliere met die van Gouvernementslanden."

[1] *Treatise, etc.*, pp. 24-27, 42, 64, etc.

[2] *Egypt General Mission News*, December, 1923.

ity—of all sects of Christianity—we have nothing to reproach ourselves with save, perhaps, in Nigeria and the Sudan. Throughout all our great tropical African dominions Christianity of a reasonable type has made enormous progress. At the same time Mohammedanism has not been discouraged or flouted, and the good elements in it are perhaps seen at their best in British Africa and India. We must, however, sweep away resolutely the indefensible restrictions on Christian missionaries which, I believe, still exists in British-governed Nigeria and the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan. It was pretended twenty years ago and less that the entry and circulation of Christian missionaries in the Fula States of Nigeria and the regions of the Sudan mainly inhabited by Arabs might excite displays of Islamic hostility, and lead to native revolts. Such fears were far-fetched. In Africa, at any rate, there is now little or no enmity towards exponents of the Christian faith, especially if they are white men from Europe or America. Such missionaries are usually acquainted with medicine and are apt instructors in general education. The Moslem generally accepts them on that basis. They may or may not effect much change in his religious views (so far as dogma is concerned); but ethically they Christianize him, and they are a potent force in education. The real opposition to their free movements and presence in such countries arose almost entirely from the military governors so dear to the heart of Foreign Office and Colonial Office. These earlier administrators of North Central Africa disliked the Christian missionary because he was generally a shrewd person of good and modern education, who criticised maltreatment of the natives, was learned in law, and a lover of freedom. All nonsense of this kind must now be swept away."[1]

When we study a large scale map of the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan, and note the imaginary line called the tenth parallel of latitude which is supposed to set bounds to the Gospel and "limit the Holy One of Israel" by shutting out even medical missions from Moslem tribes numbering hundreds of thousands, "nonsense of this kind" seems indeed to be inexcusable.

Egypt to-day has some religious freedom. It came by struggle. The following paragraph and two letters tell the story of the

[1] According to recent Missionary testimony the present Government still continues certain restrictions on work among Moslems in Northern Nigeria and handicaps the progress of missions.

first firman for religious toleration in Egypt, which was secured by the United States Government through President Abraham Lincoln in 1861 :[1] " Faris, the agent of some missionaries in Upper Egypt, told me," says Dr. Lansing, " of the case of a Coptic woman who had some years before been seduced by a Moslem, and who now wished to return to her old faith ; and he said that the Copts were very anxious that he should undertake her defence with the Government. He asked what he should do, and I told him that if in a friendly way he could do anything with the Government to secure her in her return to the faith of her fathers, he might do so ; but that he must be very careful not to compromise himself or implicate us with the authorities. He, however, went beyond his letter of instructions, and four months after it resulted in an affair which almost cost him his life, but which made us politically the first men in Egypt. The following letters tell how :—

'ABRAHAM LINCOLN, President of the United States of America, to HIS HIGHNESS MOHAMMED SAID PACHA, Viceroy of Egypt and its Dependencies, etc.

' GREAT AND GOOD FRIEND,

' I have received from Mr. Thayer, Consul-General of the United States at Alexandria, a full account of the liberal, enlightened, and energetic proceedings which, on his complaint, you have adopted, in bringing to speedy and condign punishment the parties, subjects of your Highness in Upper Egypt, who were concerned in an act of cruel persecution against Faris, an agent of certain Christian missionaries in Upper Egypt.

' I pray your Highness to be assured that these proceedings, at once so prompt and so just, will be regarded as a new and unmistakable proof equally of your Highness' friendship for the United States, and of the firmness, integrity, and wisdom with which the Government of your Highness is conducted.

' Wishing you great prosperity and success,

' I am, your good friend,

'ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

' Washington, *October* 9, 1861.

' By the President : WILLIAM H. SEWARD,

' Secretary of State.'

[1] *Egypt's Princes*, by G. Lansing. Philadelphia, 1864, p. 322 and pp. 342-343.

'To the HONOURABLE ABRAHAM LINCOLN,

'President of the United States of America.

'HONOURABLE SIR AND FRIEND,

'Mr. Thayer, Consul-General of the United States of Alexandria, has presented me the letter you were pleased to write me, expressing your feelings of satisfaction for the punishment which I have inflicted on some individuals guilty of evil and cruel treatment towards an agent of certain Christian missionaries in Upper Egypt. Mr. Thayer, who I am happy to say, entertains with me the most friendly relations, had already expressed to me the feelings of your Government.

'In this case, honourable sir and friend, I have only executed the rule which I have always endeavoured to follow, in protecting in an equal way, without consideration of creed, all those who, either by inclination or for the fulfilment of a duty, sojourn in the country submitted to my administration.

'I am profoundly sensible of the friendly manner in which you express your sentiments both to myself and to my Government, and I pray you, honourable sir and friend, to accept with this offering of my thanks, my sincere wishes for the success, perpetuity, and integrity of the American Union, which, I hope, under your able Presidency, will soon see an end of the trials with which the Almighty has been pleased to afflict it.

'Your most devoted friend,

'MOHAMMED SAID.

'Alexandria, *November* 21, 1861.' "

One must read between the lines of this interesting diplomatic correspondence, and realize the condition of all Copts in Egypt at the time to understand the effect of such a ruling on religious liberty. It was the first step.

At present Egypt is in a transition period. The declaration of complete independence, the withdrawal of many important advisory members from government departments, the struggle between the extremist and the moderate parties in the recent elections, the uncertainty of the future relationship between Britain and Egypt; all these indicate that the time is not yet for drawing any definite conclusions regarding liberty for converts or freedom of conscience. When the new Constitution

declares (Art. 149) "*Islam shall be the religion of the State,*" and when the new flag is of the old green Mohammedan shade, one may be permitted to doubt the full face value of Articles 3, 4, 12, 13 and 14, and yet hope that they are the harbingers of real liberty. These articles read as follows :—

> Art. 3.—All Egyptians shall be equal before the law. They shall have equal enjoyment of civil and political rights and shall be equally liable for public charges and duties without any distinction of race, language or religion. They alone shall be eligible for civil, military and public office ; strangers shall only be eligible in exceptional cases to be defined by law.
>
> Art. 4.—The liberty of the individual shall be guaranteed.
>
> Art. 12.—There shall be absolute freedom of conscience.
>
> Art. 13.—The State shall, in conformity with established custom in Egypt, protect the free exercise of all religion or belief, on condition that there shall be no violation of public order or morals.
>
> Art. 14.—Freedom of thought shall be guaranteed. Within the limits of the law all persons shall have the right to express freely their views by word, writing, pictures or otherwise.[1]

Although the law of apostasy, as far as it applies to the life of a convert in Egypt, may not be publicly executed or enforced before any court, other disabilities still obtain. A Mohammedan lawyer in Cairo answering an inquiry on this subject, expressed himself as follows : " The present law (1923) in Egypt regarding apostates is complete freedom. Any one can adopt whatever religion he desires. There are no local laws concerning the matter, and the old Mohammedan laws in regard to apostasy, as well as in regard to other details, are a dead letter. That is, they have fallen into disuse. Many Mohammedans have become Christians, and they are actually delivering lectures and enjoying their full rights. In my experience I know of no one who has suffered loss of property or desertion by his wife because of a change of religion. Recent law books do not mention the subject." This statement is optimistic, and illustrates the proverb of the wish becoming father to the thought. A colleague of this lawyer, who is also a practising barrister in Egypt, writes as follows : "As a general principle, carefully followed by the Egyptian Government in all of its

[1] *Treaties, Act and Regulations Relating to Missionary Freedom*, p. 104. International Missionary Council, London, 1923.

recent enactments, Mohammedan law (Hanifi Code) is followed out as regards rules of succession and personal status (marriage, divorce, apostasy, etc.). Mohammedan criminal law is entirely done away with, and so is the civil law of obligations in general and special contracts, e.g. sale, lease, etc. As regards apostasy in particular, there is no recent law. The old law is followed in the above sense, i.e. in inheritance and marriage; but no sentence for criminal punishment could be passed upon an apostate, because Egypt follows the recent penal code (since 1883), which in principle is almost textually borrowed from the French penal code. This does not punish apostasy, and the general principle in modern penal law is 'no punishment unless a crime is within the law, i.e. penal law.' A Moslem who deserts Islam loses the right of inheritance, as the Mohammedan law of succession explicitly states: *Difference of religion is a bar to inheritance.* But he does not lose the property which he owns at the time of apostasy. The Mohammedan law of marriage holds here to-day, and the Mohammedan wife of an apostate has the right to be divorced unless she herself embraces Christianity. The Mohammedan law allows a Mohammedan to marry a Christian wife, but does not allow a Mohammedan woman to marry a non-Mohammedan."

When these remaining civil disabilities are removed by special enactment, Egypt will have liberty and equality for Moslem converts.

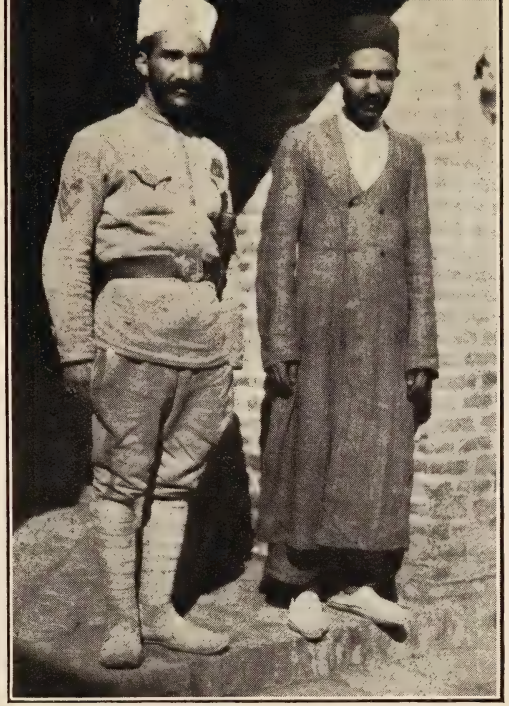
The history of religious toleration in Turkey is a long, long trail of broken promises. As early as 1453, when Mohammed II captured Constantinople, he issued an edict of toleration determining the privileges, immunities and special franchises of the Christian clergy and of Christians. In 1856 the famous Hatti Humayoun declared that "No one shall be disturbed or annoyed by reason of the religion that he professes. The worship of all the religions and creeds existing in Turkey being practised with all liberty, no one shall be prevented from exercising the religion that he professes. Each community is at liberty to establish schools, only the choice of teachers and the method of instruction being under the inspection and control of the Government." At the Berlin Congress in 1878 the Turkish Commissioner declared that "throughout the

(Ottoman) Empire the most different religions are professed by millions of the Sultan's subjects, and not one has been molested in his belief or in the exercise of his mode of worship. The Imperial government is determined to maintain this principle in its full force, and to give it all the extension that it calls for."

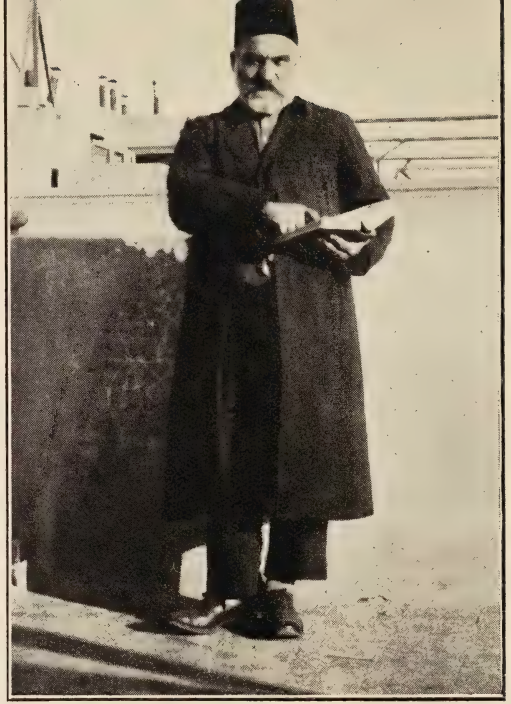
In spite of these regulations the normal state of affairs in Turkey in its bearing on missionary work and on freedom of conscience was in direct contradiction to the provisions made. A missionary wrote in 1904, that "All the reforms introduced in 1897 have proved absolute failures, and in the grimmest sense of the word the *status quo* has not been affected by them." The travel of missionaries was restricted, colporteurs were arrested and often imprisoned, no building for Christian worship might be erected without official permission, and this often required years. A strict censorship of the Press was exercised. All sorts of obstructions were put in the way of educational work. Even medical work was limited by the requirement of special permits and examinations from those engaged in it. There was neither freedom of speech nor freedom of the Press in Turkey during the reign of Abdul Hamid. The convert from Islam was murdered or fled to other lands. " So many stories of Turkish Press censorship have been told that a quarto volume of them might be gathered together. The American Bible Society at one time published a revised edition of the Turkish Scriptures when a zealous censor demanded that such verses as Proverbs iv. 14-17 ; vi. 16-19 ; xix. 29 ; xx. 21 ; xxi. 7 ; xxii. 28 ; xxiv. 15, 16 ; xxvi. 26, be omitted, as bearing too pointedly on the present condition of affairs in Turkey. It took some exertion to convince him that the right to publish the Word of God intact has been secured by treaty. The editor of the weekly religious paper *Avedaper* was publishing a series of articles about eschatology, but was forbidden to use the word ' Millennium,' as that seemed to intimate that there could be a more blessed period than the reign of Abdul Hamid II." [1]

After the revolution there were high hopes of a coming dawn of " liberty, justice, equality and brotherhood." These words

[1] *Missionary Review of the World*, Oct. 1904—" The Normal State of Affairs in Turkey."



Mirza, the leader of a small community of Christians won from Islam in Persia. He suffered persecution and imprisonment for his faith, especially for trying to win others. This photograph shows him with a policeman, sent to escort him outside the city. The Government released him on condition that he left the province; but four months later he returned, and is still working as an Evangelist.



Sheikh Abdullah, a Syrian convert, long connected with the Nile Mission Press, and the writer of a number of books and tracts for Moslems, among them "My Pilgrimage to Mecca." He died at Cairo in 1916.

were emblazoned on banners and worn on arm-bands by the crowds in the streets of Constantinople. There appeared to be a sudden growth of most cordial relations between Moslems and Christians. The London *Times*, August 21, 1908, described the celebrations at Beirut in the following terms: "Again and again the Moslem speakers gave the salutation, 'Es-salaam alaikum ya akhwaty' (Peace be upon you, O brethren), which had been withheld from the Christians for so many years except by all but the most liberal and enlightened Moslems. At one place in the streets was a large inscription which expressed the new spirit in a verse from the Koran side by side with a verse from the Bible—'The deliverance is from God, and victory is near'; 'The fear of the Lord is the beginning of wisdom.' Then came a sentiment perhaps never written before in public —'Long live the Moslem-Christian brotherhood,' and below it 'Long live liberty.' It was almost impossible to believe our ears and eyes. Then, at many places and many times during the day, when the people caught sight of a Christian priest and turbaned Moslem in proximity to each other, they were pushed into each other's arms and made to kiss each other! . . . On that Sunday the largest and most remarkable demonstration took place in the Armenian church among the bazaars. The commander of the troops and many of the officers, together with the military band, were present. The Bishop, many of the priests, and many more of the Moslems made fraternal speeches, in which all bewailed the awful events of the present reign in Armenia, and welcomed the new era, in which there was to be liberty, equality, and fraternity, ending the so-called Armenian question for ever."

But the Armenian question was not settled. After the revolution came the tragedy of Adana; and after Adana, the massacres and deportations of more than a million Christians in Turkey as a grim and ghastly comment on the assurance of liberty and equality. One is forced to the conclusion of Freeman in his history of the Saracens. "To those who expect to see a Mohammedan state become tolerant and civilized without ceasing to be a Mohammedan state, I would again hold up the solitary example of the illustrious Mogul. If European Turkey, or Asiatic Turkey, is to be reformed from within, without the

coercion of either enemies of friends, the career of Akbar must be the guiding star. Let the individual Mohammedan have the fullest equality with the individual Christian, but let not the individual Christian have to recognize a Mohammedan master as his sovereign. So long as a Government remains Mohammedan, so long must it be intolerant at home ; so long will it be restrained only by weakness from offering to other lands the old election of ' Koran, Tribute or Sword.' "[1]

Neither during the world war nor since the Armistice has there been any semblance of religious liberty or freedom of conscience in Turkey. Deportations, murders, massacre, rape, pillage—these do not spell equality or fraternity.

The Nationalists under Mustapha Kemal have now a Constitutional Assembly, and the form of a Turkish Republic, but the State religion remains Islam ; and in the publication of religious *fetwas* they have indicated that to them also Moslem divine law is superior to any constitution.[2] On April 20, 1920, the Nationalist newspaper, published at Brusa, interspersed its statement regarding the duty of all Nationalists with quotations from the Koran, and laid down principles in this fashion :

" 1. Is it not the duty of all Moslems to take up arms in defence of the Khalifa when the seat of the Khalifa is occupied by the enemy, when all means of defence are taken from the Sultan so that he can no longer defend the true interests of the nation, and when courts-martial are established in the capital under British laws ? Reply : Yes.

" 2. Can those who thus take part in the fight against the enemy be stigmatized as enemies of their country and their religion ? Reply : No.

" 3. Are not those who die in such fighting ' martyrs ' (Shŭhida), and are not those who survive ' victors ' (Ghazi) ? Reply : Yes.

" 4. Are not all Moslems bound by the Holy Law under such circumstances to assist in the struggle against the enemy ? Reply : Yes.

[1] Freeman, *History and Conquests of the Saracens*, p. 203.

[2] This was the case before the abolition of the Caliphate and the expulsion of the Caliph. Whether the present Nationalist government will grant liberty of worship and speech to minorities is an open question.

" 5. Are *fetwas* issued by a Government which is under the influence of the enemy binding under the Holy Law upon Moslems? Reply: No."

Recent regulations regarding foreigners in Turkey and the prohibition of Christian teaching to Moslem pupils in Mission Schools do not indicate a larger degree of liberty under Islamic Nationalist Government, but rather a recrudescence of the old spirit.[1]

If one could appeal to constitutional rights and to the promises made on paper, there might be hope for the Christian minorities. But what does the Turk care for a " scrap of paper " ?

The last of all these official documents in which Turkey assures the world that she will respect the rights of minorities and give religious liberty to all her subjects is the Treaty of Peace signed at Lausanne, July 24, 1923. The following Articles are intended to protect minorities :—

> Art. 37.—Turkey undertakes that the stipulations contained in Articles 38 to 44 shall be recognized as fundamental laws, and that no law, no regulation nor official action shall conflict or interfere with these stipulations, nor shall any law, regulation nor official action prevail among them.
>
> Art. 38.—The Turkish Government undertakes to assure full and complete protection of life and liberty to all inhabitants of Turkey without distinction of birth, nationality, language, race or religion. All inhabitants of Turkey shall be entitled to free exercise, whether in public or private, of any creed, religion or belief, the observance of which shall not be incompatible with public order and good morals. Non-Moslem minorities will enjoy full freedom of movement and of emigration, subject to the measures applied, on the whole or on part of the territory, to all Turkish nationals, and which may be taken by the Turkish Government for national defence, or for the maintenance of public order.
>
> Art. 39.—Turkish nationals belonging to non-Moslem minorities will enjoy the same civil and political rights as Moslem. All the inhabitants of Turkey, without distinction of religion, shall be equal before the law. Differences of religion, creed or confession shall not prejudice any Turkish national in matters relating to the enjoyment of civil or political rights, as, for instance,

[1] Cf. article by James L. Barton on " The Present Status of Missionary and Educational Work in Turkey " in the *Homiletic Review*. January, 1924.

admission to public employments, functions and honours, or the exercise of professions and industries. No restrictions shall be imposed on the free use by any Turkish national of any language in private intercourse, in commerce, religion, in the Press, or in publications of any kind at or public meetings. Notwithstanding the existence of the official language, adequate facilities shall be given to Turkish nationals of non-Turkish speech for the oral use of their own language before the Courts.[1]

We are reliably informed that at Lausanne, General Ismet Pasha, the spokesman for the Turkish Government and Minister of Foreign Affairs of that Government, declared to Ambassador Child, as well as to representatives of the American Board, that they desired American missionaries, educators and physicians to remain in the country and carry on their work as before. He went so far as to put into writing: "I hope above all things that Americans will not worry about the future of their educational and philanthropic institutions in Turkey. We want these institutions to stay, and have no intention of adopting laws that will embarrass the continuation of the admirable American altruistic work among our people." The same sentiment was expressed by Dr. Fouad Bey, a Turkish unofficial representative, recently in the United States.

The abolition of the capitulations was an omen of sinister import. On the other hand, the new government in Turkey has now gone a step further in the abolition of the Caliphate as a religious institution. Dr. James L. Barton says:[2]

"It is impossible to measure the import of the separation of Church and State by which the religious establishment of Islam heads up in the Caliph at Constantinople, while the affairs of State centre in the Grand National Assembly at Angora. The Turks repeatedly affirmed at Lausanne that Church and State were now separate, and that there was absolute religious freedom in Turkey. It is impossible to believe that such a fundamental and even revolutionary change can be practically perfected without a long period of trial. And yet the attempt is in itself of startling significance and may mean much or little.

"The work in Turkey has been swept as with a besom of

[1] *Treaties, etc.*, pp. 97 and 98.

[2] *The Problem of Turkey as the American Board Views it.* pp. 8, 9, 10. Boston, 1922.

destruction, but we can even now see tokens of new life and power and of possible opportunities not before realized. We do not attempt to explain the providences that have produced present political conditions ; they are beyond the reach of the human mind.

" We turn to history for our encouragement, to the promises for our assurance, to the God of missions for our spiritual equipment, and to the command of our Lord Jesus Christ for our marching orders.

" ' That which is seen is temporal, but that which is unseen is eternal.' "

The brief history of constitutional government in Persia furnishes abundant illustration of the difficulty of reconciling the old Mohammedan law and the new conditions ; and yet every step has been one of progress for liberty. When the new constitution was written and prepared for adoption, the leaders prefaced the document with an article definitely accepting the authority of the religious law of Islam as recorded in the Koran and in the commentaries of Imam Jaffar. They might as well have bound together the Jewish Talmud and the American Constitution, making the former supreme and inviolate. But the reasons for this preface to the constitution can easily be understood. It was intended to capture the consent of the *mullahs* and the conservative party ; but it will prove impossible to apply the old criminal code and the law against apostasy in proportion as education gains foothold and Western thought penetrates the masses. The old day of absolute intolerance, missionaries tell us, has gone for ever : " In 1812 Persian children in the streets stoned Henry Martyn until he feared for his life. A whole roomful of white-bearded *mullahs*, after they had agreed to a friendly debate with him on religion, lost all their ecclesiastical dignity in a mad attempt to tear him to pieces. These same things might have occurred anywhere in Persia twenty years ago. The law of Islam still forbids close association with infidels, still demands the death of all who leave its ranks, still bans pictures and every form of art. Yet in 1923, in the city of Teheran, two missionaries talked earnestly for hours with a white-bearded *mullah*, one of

the leading ecclesiastics of the city, and found him sincerely interested in Christ as the Saviour of the world. The conversation took place in the home of a high-class Persian, known openly as a baptized believer in Jesus Christ, and behind the old mullah, as he talked, hung a large picture of our Lord turning to heal a suppliant."

Dr. Robert E. Speer told the story of Mirza Ibrahim, a Mohammedan of Khoi, who was publicly baptized in 1890; in spite of the attempted dissuasion and bribery of the mullahs, the desertion of his wife and children, and the loss of all his property according to the Moslem law of apostasy. While preaching, he was arrested and taken before the governor, and when he was beaten and reviled, he only replied, as his face shone, " So was my Saviour beaten." "After a short imprisonment he was removed to Tabriz. As he was led away from the prison, he solemnly called his fellow-prisoners to witness that he was free from their blood if they should reject the way of life, and ' They all rose with heavy chains on their necks and bade him go in peace, while they prayed that his God and the Saviour whom he trusted would protect him.' One of the Mohammedan officers who had watched him, said to the Mohammedan crowd in the yard : ' This is a wonderful man. He is as brave as a lion. A mullah has just been trying to convince him of his error, but he replies to everything, and the mullah has gone away with his head hanging down. He says that Mohammed is not a prophet, and that unless they can prove that he is, from the Holy Books, he will not give up his faith in Christ, even if they cut off his head.' His last request, as he set out for the capital of the province, was : ' Pray for me that I may be a witness for Christ before the great of my people. I have no fear though I know that I shall die.' At Tabriz he was cast into a dark dungeon, chained to vile criminals, beaten, stunned and deprived of his clothes and bedding. One night, when he witnessed for Christ to his fellow-prisoners, they fell upon him, kicked him, and took turns in choking him. His throat swelled so that he could scarcely swallow or speak, and on Sunday, May 14, 1893, he died from his injuries. When the Crown Prince was informed of his death, he asked, ' How did he die ? ' And the jailor

answered, ' He died like a Christian.' " Now a new day has dawned.

Holy Meshed, once as exclusive as Mecca itself, and still " the glory of the Shi'ah world," is now a Mission station and it has a great hospital where converts from Islam minister to the people and manifest the mercy and compassion of Jesus Christ our Lord. Public baptisms have taken place in the capital and in many other cities of Persia ; and in this land we are beginning to see the signs of a coming harvest. The change that has taken place in Tabriz is even more noticeable. Once Mohammedans were beaten for attending Sunday services. In 1892 the government closed the doors of the church and school on the pretence that there was a tank under the church in which to baptize converts. When the buildings were again opened the government forbade Moslem women and children to enter the school or the church. To-day in this city there is complete liberty. Moslem newspapers are criticizing the Moslem ecclesiastics, and one of the leading editors told Dr. Speer that there was no hope for Persia until the power of Islam was shattered. The new Constitution is stated by a leading Moslem convert to be " the greatest blow against the tottering walls of Islam. I say freely that Islam and the spirit of constitutional government are incompatible for ever." [1] In Isfahan thirteen Moslems were recently publicly baptized, and there was no attempt at persecution. Persia may prove to be the first Moslem land where liberty of conscience and freedom of speech will produce a new nation.

The French mandate for Syria and the Lebanon, of July 24, 1922, also ensures " complete freedom of conscience and the free exercise of all forms of worship." (Article 8.) [2] Doubtless the

[1] *Report on India and Persia.* By Robert E. Speer and Russell Carter. Board of Foreign Missions of the Presbyterian Church, U.S.A., 1922.

[2] It reads : " Le Mandataire garantira a toute personne la plus complète liberté de conscience ainsi que le libre exercice de toutes les formes de culte compatibles avec l'ordre publique et les bonnes moeurs. Il n'y aura inégalité de traitement entres les habitants de la Syrie et du Liban du fait des differences de race de religion ou de langue.

" Le Mandataire développera l'instruction publique donnée au moyen des langues indigènes en usage sur les territoires de la Syria et du Liban.

" Il ne sera porté aucune atteinte au droit des communautés de conserver leurs écoles en vue de l'instruction et de l'éducation de leurs membres dans leur propre langue à condition de se conformer aux préscriptions générales sur l'instruction publique édictée par l'administration."

usual provisions are made for the enforcement of Moslem law as relates to person and property, but no mention is made of the possible transfer of Moslems to the Christian community, nor as regards the rights of those who are thus transferred. The difficulties in Palestine, Syria and Mesopotamia, are far greater, naturally, than they are in the Philippine Islands; but one would like to see provision made for these countries in such outspoken and unmistakable language as is found in Article 3 of the Act of Congress, U.S.A., August 29, 1916. (*This Act applies also to the more than* 400,000 *Mohammedans of the Philippine Islands.*) " . . . that no law shall be passed abridging the freedom of speech, of the press, or the right of the people peaceably to assemble and petition the Government for redress or grievance. That no law shall be made respecting an establishment of religion or prohibiting the free exercise thereof, and that the free exercise and enjoyment of religious profession and worship, without discrimination or preference, shall for ever be allowed: and no religious test shall be required for the exercise of civil or political rights. No public money or property shall ever be appropriated, applied, donated or used, directly or indirectly, for the use, benefit or support of any sect, church, denomination, sectarian instruction or system of religion, or for the use, benefit or support of any priest, preacher, minister or other religious teacher or dignitary as such. Contracting polygamous or plural marriages hereafter is prohibited. That no law shall be construed to permit polygamous or plural marriages. . . ."[1] There is a long road to travel in Egypt and Syria before such an act can appear on the statute books or be enforced as law.

The Mandate for Palestine declares, in Article 15: " The

Article X reads: " Le Contrôle exercé par le Mandataire sur les missions réligieuses en Syrie at au Liban se bornera au maintien de l'ordre publique et de la bonne administration; aucune atteinte ne sera portée à la libre activité des dites missions réligieuses.

" Les membres de ces missions ne seront l'objet d'aucune mésure restrictive au fait de leur nationalité, pourvu que leur activité ne sorte pas du domaine réligieux.

" Les missions réligieuses pourront également s'occuper d'œuvres d'instruction et d'assistance publique sous réserve du droit général de règlementation et de Contrôle du Mandataire ou des Gouvernements locaux en matiere d'education d'instruction et d'assistance publique."—*Correspondance d'Orient*—October, 1923. Paris.

[1] *Treaties, Acts, etc.*, pp. 82.

Mandatory shall see that complete freedom of conscience and the free exercise of all forms of worship, subject only to the maintenance of public order and morals, are ensured to all. No discrimination of any kind shall be made between the inhabitants of Palestine on the ground of race, religion or language. No person shall be excluded from Palestine on the sole ground of his religious belief." But in Article 52 we read : " Moslem Religious Courts shall have exclusive jurisdiction in matters of personal status of Moslems in accordance with the provisions of the Law of Procedure of the Moslem Religious Courts of the 25th October, 1333 A.H., as amended by any Ordinance or Rules. They shall also have, subject to the provisions of any Ordinance or of the Order of the 20th December, 1921, establishing a Supreme Council for Moslem Religious Affairs, or of any Orders amending the same, exclusive jurisdiction in cases of the constitution or internal administration of a Wakf constituted for the benefit of Moslems before a Moslem Religious Court. There shall be an appeal from the Court of the Qadi to the Moslem Religious Court of Appeal, whose decision shall be final."

Other provisions are made for appeal to the Chief Justice, and yet, as long as Moslem law obtains, one would like to see a definite provision made for the case of apostates, in order that the provisions of Article 83 may not prove a dead letter. In this Article we read that " all persons in Palestine shall enjoy full liberty of conscience." [1]

For the difficulties which converts face in Palestine have not been altogether removed because of the British mandate. In fact, in some respects, they have increased. The actual situation is described by the Rev. A. J. Mortimer, of Nablous : [2] " What are the present prospects of winning converts from Islam in Palestine ? Is it easier for a Moslem to become a Christian under the terms of the British Mandate than it was under the Turkish régime ? Is the law now administered Ottoman or British, and, if the latter, is there complete religious freedom ? The law, as at present administered, is neither wholly Ottoman nor wholly British, but a compound of

[1] Cf. *Treaties, Acts and Regulations Relating to Missionary Freedom.* International Missionary Council, London, 1923, pp. 21-24.

[2] *Church Missionary Outlook.* 1923.

the two. The basis is still Ottoman, but from time to time, as occasion arises, new ordinances are published from Government House, superseding or modifying the old order.

" When the High Commissioner, Sir Herbert Samuel, arrived in Palestine to take up his post he read publicly in Jerusalem and Haifa, before representatives invited from the surrounding districts, a letter from King George V to the people of Palestine, in which, among other things, complete freedom of conscience was proclaimed. This clause was confirmed by the new constitution lately promulgated after the signing of the Mandate. Under the old Ottoman law any one wishing to change his religion was compelled, in order to have the change legalized, to submit to an examination not exceeding two hours in duration by the local head of his former religion, with a view of his being dissuaded from the step. In the event of his not being dissuaded, his change of religion became legally recognized and valid.

" In practice, however, so far as Palestine is concerned, the law seems to have been applied only in the case of Moslems wishing to change their creed, and not *vice versa*. In one notable case the result of the ' examination ' *as announced* was an obvious falsification of the facts, and was followed by the disappearance of the convert ! On the other hand, an experienced missionary worker has related that in Egypt, on more than one occasion, he has effectively claimed the right, under this law, of interviewing would-be perverts to Islam, and that in most cases he was successful, generally after a few minutes' conservation, in dissuading the ' pervert ' from his intention. Quite often the motive for the change was not religious conviction, but the desire to contract a marriage. A new ' ordinance,' reviving this Ottoman law, has lately been published, with modifications, e.g. the arrangements for the ' examination ' are to be made under the direction of the local governor, generally an Englishman, and the ordinance is, of course, equally applicable to Moslem, Jew, or Christian.

" This law, so long as it is equitably administered (and the supervision by an English governor is a guarantee of fair play), should be welcomed by the missionary, seeing that it affords equal advantages to the heads of each religion. At the same

THE FALSE DAWN IN TURKEY.

A scarlet flag, of which thousands were sold on the day of the opening of the Turkish Parliament, December 17th, 1908. The inscriptions read "Brotherhood, freedom and equality."—"Constitutional Freedom."

time the would-be convert to Christianity must be possessed of intellectual conviction to face the ordeal of a two hours' cross-examination at the hands of the local *mufti*, and also of courage, both moral and physical, having survived his examination to meet the obloquy, not to say persecution, at the hands of his former co-religionists, which is fairly certain to follow. The present attitude of the Arab population in refusing to recognize the new Palestine Constitution under the British Mandate tends to complicate matters should new cases of conversion arise in the near future."

We turn from Palestine to Mesopotamia. Here the outlook is very hopeful, and the missionaries look forward to a day of complete religious freedom after centuries of fanaticism and oppression toward Christian minorities under Turkish rule.

In the treaty between His Britannic Majesty and His Majesty the King of Iraq, signed at Baghdad on October 10, 1922, we have two Articles that grant religious and missionary freedom to all in this ancient land of the Caliphate. Article 3 reads: "His Majesty the King of Iraq agrees to frame an Organic Law for presentation to the Constituent Assembly of Iraq, and to give effect to the said Law, which shall contain nothing contrary to the provisions of the present Treaty, and shall take account of the rights, wishes and interests of all populations inhabiting Iraq. This Organic Law shall ensure to all complete freedom of conscience and the free exercise of all forms of worship, subject only to the maintenance of public order and morals. It shall provide that no discrimination of any kind shall be made between the inhabitants of Iraq on the ground of race, religion or language, and shall secure that the right of each community to maintain its own schools for the education of its own members in its own language, while conforming to such educational requirements of a general nature as the Government of Iraq may impose, shall not be denied or impaired. It shall prescribe the constitutional procedure, whether legislative or executive, by which decisions will be taken on all matters of importance, including those involving questions of fiscal, financial and military policy." And Article 12 of the same Treaty states: "No measure shall be taken in Iraq to obstruct or interfere with missionary enterprise or to discriminate

against any missionary on the ground of his religious belief or nationality, provided that such enterprise is not prejudicial to public order and good government."[1]

Far more important, however, than all these promises of liberty, on paper, is the rising tide of freedom in the hearts of all people in all lands, and in spite of all the old Islamic laws. Nationalism has done its work if not always wisely yet most thoroughly.

Our correspondents in many Mission fields are almost unanimous in expressing the hope that we are facing the dawn of a new day of liberty. Although some express this hope with fear and trembling, especially those who have had such hopes disappointed after the proclamation of liberty, fraternity and equality in Turkey. In the old Moslem lands, such as inner Arabia and Afghanistan, there are few signs of new liberty for converts. The entrance of missionaries is forbidden in the Hejaz and across the Indian Afghan frontier. In Tunisia, according to a missionary residing at Kairouan, "The old intolerant attitude still exists, though some classes of Moslems may be more tolerant. As far as French authority or influence works, certainly it would be on the side of toleration, although the French government rather seeks to appear friendly to Islam."

From Algeria, however, a missionary writes: "The attitude of Moslems towards Christianity is much more tolerant to-day. There is great laxity with regard to the Moslem tenets of drinking wine and eating pork; there are many so-called Moslems who take wine very freely. In fact, there is more drunkenness amongst Moslems of Algeria than amongst Europeans. Yet there would still be a deal of persecution for any Moslem who dared to confess Christ in preference to Mohammed." In Persia they tell us there have been "radical changes during the past twenty years." The constitution has given more liberty of thought and action, and the police department now handles many matters which formerly were brought before the religious courts. It also safeguards converts from mob violence and fanaticism. As one of the missionaries expresses it, "A better day is coming, and the harvest is beginning to be gathered in. There may be bloodshed yet, but Christ will prevail."

[1] *Treaties, etc.*, pp. 95 and 96.

Another correspondent, writing in regard to the French colonies in Africa, says: "I do not think one can say that there is a more tolerant attitude on the part of Moslem authorities towards converts to Christianity. They may be more tolerant towards natives who become naturalized French citizens, and who may even go the length of wearing a European hat! That would be explained as having been done from self-interest and temporarily. To renounce Islam and embrace Christianity, and to declare this openly is quite another matter in the eyes of Moslems." In Egypt, however, there certainly is a more tolerant attitude toward converts. And yet missionaries differ in their interpretation as to the real reasons for this changed attitude. One who has had twenty years' experience in every part of this field, says: "The full enforcement of the law against apostasy is not possible because of the strong supervision of British officials. What would and will happen when that supervision is withdrawn remains to be seen. The new constitution, with its boasted gift of religious liberty, seems to me to leave the question of Moslem converts where it was." While a more hopeful view is expressed by Dr. R. S. McClanahan: "That Moslems would be even willing to inquire, to attend meetings, to make investigations, to buy the Scriptures, and to read them, and also books of discussion on the subject, that Christian missionaries should be given so much of a hearing in public and in private as they are, and that many leaders in the movement for independence in the country are finding that liberty of conscience is an essential of any liberty at all; these things certainly suggest a more tolerant attitude. I believe it is simply the normal reaction which comes out of all this talk of liberty and independence and freedom, of which the atmosphere has been full for several years." There have been public baptisms and marriages of Moslem converts; in one case the officiating clergyman, bridegroom and parents were all converts from Islam.

Tolerance toward converts from Islam seems often to be in direct proportion to the proximity of foreign governments and their influence, and the impact of Western civilization in breaking down fanaticism. This is evident, for example, in such cities as Aden and Constantinople. "Undoubtedly there

is a more tolerant attitude now than there was when I came to Aden," writes Dr. J. C. Young. "At the morning service the people listen with attention and often with real reverence, and in the school both Moslem and Jewish scholars regularly join together in repeating the Lord's Prayer every morning at the opening service before the clinic begins. The people buy Scriptures more readily than they did. One morning I sold fifteen copies, where a few years ago not a single copy would have been sold; and I am confident that as the entrance of God's Word ever giveth light, the time will come when all barriers will be swept away in the flood of blessings that will come to Arabia." And from Constantinople, a missionary writes: "There is a more tolerant attitude due, perhaps, in part to closer contact with the Western world and to greater publicity. One or two Moslems have become Christians here, and are living as Christians. I cannot say that they are out of danger, but they have not as yet been molested. I think we should appeal to the Moslem world to place their religion on the same basis as Christianity; subject to criticism and investigation, with freedom for every man to change his faith under stress of conviction. It is, however, difficult for such an appeal to reach the ignorant masses among whom it is considered as a crime for a Moslem to change his faith."

In some cases the persecution of a convert and his martyrdom has proved the truth of the words of our Lord, "Except a grain of wheat fall into the ground and die, it abideth alone. But if it die, it bringeth forth much fruit." Dr. Walter R. Miller gives this interesting account of what happened in Nigeria. "About twenty years before our coming, a *Mallam* of Kano, passing through Egypt from Mecca, heard the Gospel; and, only feebly understanding it, had apparently been impressed by the grandeur of the personality of Christ. He returned to Kano and preached what he knew; and was tortured and killed because he refused to give up what he believed. As a direct consequence of this, nearly twenty years later, or possibly more, many of his disciples who had fled came under the sound of the Gospel. A little Christian village was started here, and a community of over one hundred and thirty souls lived under Christian law and teaching, and many were baptized. Alas,

sleeping sickness has, during the last four years, nearly annihilated this little community ! " But Dr. Miller goes on to say, " I cannot say that there is any change of attitude on the part of Moslems here. I believe—nay, I have proof—that were the British power removed, every Christian convert would be executed at once. It is an anomaly that the British Government prevents a Christian inheriting from his Moslem father, even though the latter and his son have been living in most friendly relation before the father's death."

One of the most hopeful features in the whole situation is that educated Moslems in all lands are beginning to have a more liberal outlook. They are conscious that political liberty can exist only where the rights of minorities are respected, and that Islamic law must be modified in order to secure the freedom desired. An open-minded Turk in conversation with Dr. W. Nesbitt Chambers at Adana expressed himself in terms such as these : " The past six hundred years demonstrate that the Turks of themselves cannot make progress. The Magyars, the Roumanians, the Bulgarians and others, freed from Turkish domination, made advance. Compare Sofia and Adrianople—neighbouring cities. If the Ulema, the Khojas and other leaders had been men of culture and education and serious and open-minded, they would have considered the needs of the country and would have introduced those changes necessary for the welfare and best interests of the people of the country in all phases of life. Six hundred years of this is sufficient. Now is the time to inaugurate those movements that will make for the peace and the best interests of all the people. . . .

" Is it not time for the Turkish race, possessed of excellent qualities that would make for progress if they had the opportunity and were properly led, to consider with deep seriousness this condition and seek a remedy ? Open the windows and let in the light !

" Must we not admit that Islam is too small a religion, too circumscribed, too formal ? Must we not place the responsibility of our backwardness, and not only ours but the backwardness of Moslem lands, at the door of Islam ? We are challenged for an answer. Should we not seek the reason in what appears

to be the fact, that Islam does not furnish the high ideal, the inspiration to investigation, the desire for progress in the different phases of life, material, social and spiritual ?

" The holy Koran is in a language known to but comparatively few in the Moslem world ; the repetition of its words, and other religious exercises enjoined, do not develop moral excellence, or, as history shows, an impulse for progress and human welfare. Is the assertion that the Koran supersedes the Gospel tenable ? Is it necessary that Allah should withdraw a revelation or substitute a different one already given ? We recognize Jesus the Messiah of the Gospel as a prophet of God. Let us turn to what light He may give on the human problem. Let that stand which can give light and a lead."[1]

In the Persian press a Moslem editor expressed himself regarding the need of a new liberty as follows ("*Azad*," i.e. Freedom, published at Tabriz, Jan. 1, 1922) : " Oh, Persians of the Shiah sect, either you believe or you do not believe. But those who do believe, let them give ear and hear what I am saying. How unworthy are those who confess that Islam is a religious system both spiritual and worldly, but who forget that a tree must be known by its fruits. While, as you say, this religion has the happiness of this world to offer as well as the coming world, yet in every point all Moslems over the world are low, poor, unclean, without civilization, foolish, ignorant and in general they are two hundred years behind American and European Christians, and even behind Zoroastrians. . . . Refuse to tie yourselves as the followers all of one man and say that his command is the command of God and the prophet, and second you can treat your various tribes so that they will not be tools in the hands of your neighbour nations. If you do these things I assure you that your kingdom will be great. Therefore arise and take your sword and dig up all those thorns which have grown up around Mohammed—may the blessing of God be upon him and his children—so that we may be blessed both in this world and the world to come. I shall be glad to receive any suggestions or any advice from any reader of this paper."[2]

[1] *The Moslem World*, vol. xi. pp. 232, 233, 234.
[2] Robert E. Speer's *Report on India and Persia*, pp. 381-382.

Not only in Turkey and in Persia, but in Mecca itself, voices have been pleading for religious liberty. In 1899 a conference was held, or is supposed to have been held, at Mecca, on the problem of Islam's decay and disintegration. The full report of these discussions make an interesting study of Islamic thought, and was published at Cairo under the title, *Um-al-Qura*, i.e. " Mother of all cities," Mecca. Eighty-six causes for the decline and disintegration of Islam are noted. One of the delegates said the decline of Islam is due " not to our rulers, because they are only selected by their subjects. What we are, our rulers will be. I believe that the cause of our calamity is the loss of liberty. We do not know what *liberty* means, because we do not have it. The one who enjoys it can define it thus : it is the virtue by which man is free in word and in action, and in no way or manner is antagonized. It must touch several departments ; it must advocate human rights, and hold rulers responsible, because they are the representatives of the public. They should not hestitate to execute justice, and ought not to be afraid in giving the needed advice. And again there must be freedom in education and freedom in public speech ; freedom of the press and freedom in scientific discussions. And there must be liberty in doing justice, so that no one should fear a man who is wicked, treacherous and perfidious. There must be, above all, a liberty in religion, the virtue that will vindicate the rights of men and secure the honour of the family ; that will encourage education and make it thrive. Liberty is the soul of religion. Doubtless, liberty is the dearest thing to man after his life. To lose it is to banish hope, and check labour ; to let the soul expire, the laws die and the rules be transgressed."

Surely when such voices are heard in Turkey, Persia, and even from Mecca, we may take courage. The cry for national independence includes far more than a desire for self-government. Islam itself must to-day face a crisis in the hearts of Moslems. The character of the Koran, the life of the Prophet of Arabia, and the legislation based upon both, all conflict with religious freedom. Missionaries and converts may together find strength in the thought that Islam is being brought before the judgment of history. This judgment will be more relentless,

more searching, more just than any private judgment could be. It alone is final. In this faith we can rest and wait. Meanwhile, there will arise in all lands an ever-increasing number of converts from Islam who will fearlessly face the law of apostasy because of their love for Jesus Christ.

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